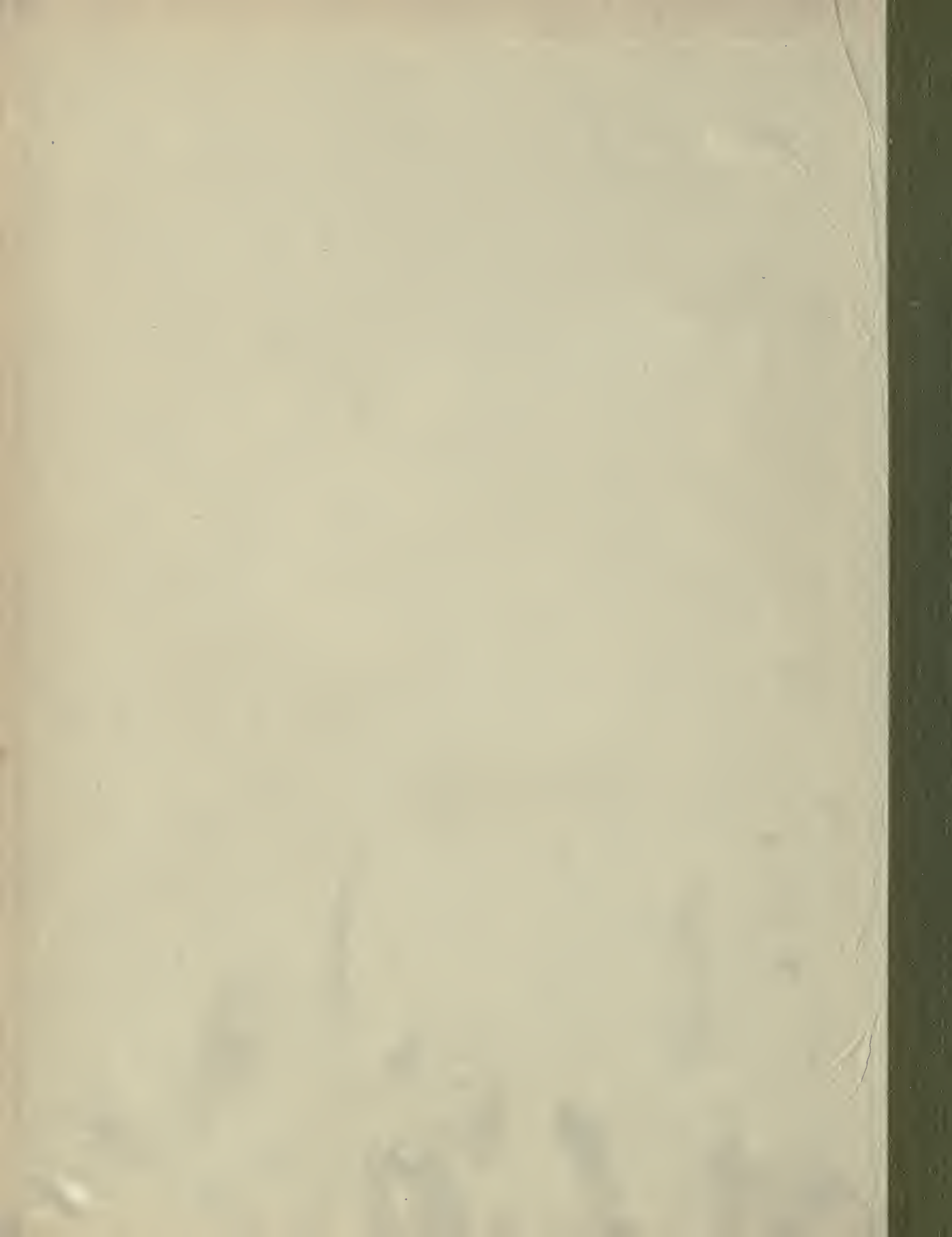




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S. LANGDON  
PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD  
VOL. I

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IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

VOL. I

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BY

S. LANGDON, M.A.

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## PREFACE.

The Series of Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Inscriptions which begins with this volume has been planned primarily for the purpose of publishing the tablets and inscribed monuments presented to the University of Oxford by Mr. H. WELD-BLUNDELL of Queen's College. The material contained in the earlier volumes has been obtained by Mr. WELD-BLUNDELL by purchase during his first visit to Mesopotamia in the spring of 1921 and later through the valuable assistance of Captain COOK of the Ministry of Awḡaf in Bagdad. The munificent patron of the university then decided to send out an expedition to excavate in Mesopotamia and after a prolonged conference with the writer he decided to excavate Kish, the ancient capital of Babylonia, for the University of Oxford. In view of the heavy expense involved in such a project; for the ruins of Kish consist in two great mounds, Tel-el-Aḡaimer and Umm Gharra, which revert to the oldest period of human history, we gladly accepted the generous offer of the Director of the Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago), under sanction of his Board of Trustees, to form a joint expedition. The philological material which shall accrue to Oxford and the Field Museum will be published in this Series. The Field Museum has undertaken to publish all the archaeological results. We are under no misapprehension concerning the difficult task of excavating one of the largest mounds or double mounds in Mesopotamia. It is already obvious from the experience obtained in the first year's work that the buried remains of these vast ruins cannot be obtained without long and patient exploration.

In the first season's work the temple tower Unirkidurmah was laid bare on the south eastern and north eastern sides, the platform of the temple Emete-ursag dedicated to the god Ilbaba and the goddess Innini was located and defined. The remains of restorations both of the temple and tower by Samsuiluna, Ramman-apal-idinnam and Nebuchadnezzar were found in rapid succession, and at the close of the excavations in May 1923, the excavator, Mr. MACKAY, came upon older walls of the pre-Sargonic period in the temenos area. The ziggurat which stood on the western side of the temple area was found to have been

flanked at least on the two sides adjacent to the temple by row of chambers connected by a corridor. South west of the ziggurat a few literary tablets have been recovered, which excites the hope that the temple library may possibly come to light soon. That is, however, at the time of writing only a prospect. The older and larger ruins two miles east of the temple mound have not yet been searched. Assyriologists and historians in all lands will surely respond with gratitude to the generosity of those who have undertaken the heavy and oftentimes thankless task of solving one of the most important problems connected with the history of ancient times. The writer who undertook to direct this expedition and to edit its philological and historical results, has added a burden of great responsibility to his other duties, which were already sufficient for the work of one man.

The contents of the first volume of this Series are somewhat miscellaneous; this is due to the editor's desire to edit the principal texts brought to the Ashmolean Museum by Mr. WELD-BLUNDELL in 1921—22. Volume II which shall appear almost immediately contains the large dynastic prism purchased in 1922 and other historical inscriptions. The cost of the printing of the Series is sustained at present entirely by the same patron of the university.

*Oxford, Nov. 7, 1923.*

S. LANGDON.











## THE LEGEND OF ENMERKAR AND LUGALBANDA.

(W—B. 162.)

cf U.cke, 'Lugalb.  
p 87 text "T"

The text of this long poem is unusually well preserved with the exception of the first lines; the loss of these lines which might introduce the interpreter to the general situation of the myth increases the obscurity of an unusually difficult composition. The text becomes intelligible at line 18 of the first column where [Lugalbanda] replies to his mother.<sup>1</sup> The fragmentary section which precedes contained, therefore, an address of the goddess Innini (Ishtar) to Lugalbanda; possibly the text began by a dream in which this goddess of Erech appeared to her son, the mortal Lugalbanda. In the next lines Lugalbanda apparently describes the desperate condition of the kingdom of Erech. Enmerkar the king trembled in terror within the city and Lugalbanda, hastening from afar to his succor, is prevented by dragons who infest the mountainous passage. He finally reaches Erech and rescues Enmerkar.

If I rightly understand the situation at the beginning of Col. II, Lugalbanda here begins another speech (II 4—28), addressed to Innini in which he beseeches her to bestow blessings upon Erech, and to defend this ancient city, now 3000 years old, from the wicked Amorites. In the second part of his speech Lugalbanda refers to a journey of Innini which she seems loath to undertake. The passage is probably based upon historical verity. Innini, daughter of Anu the heaven god, was transferred to Erech from the city Dêr, an ancient halting place of Sumerian civilisation in the province Ashnunak east of the Tigris by the river Uknû. The prehistoric deities of Ashnunak were Umunbanda and his consort Ninsun, both of whom were transferred to Erech when the centre of the civilisation shifted southward to the lower part of Mesopotamia. Umunbanda or Enbanda was identified with Lugalbanda third king of the prehistoric first kingdom of Erech who is invariably described as a god. Also Dumuzi the fourth king and Gilgamish the fifth king of this dynasty were deified and became important figures in Sumerian religion. At Dêr the bisexual ophidian deity Ka-Di or Isir with whom Dumuzi or Tammuz was identified, was a title of both the old mother goddess Innini and her brother or son (Tammuz) and these two (male and female) aspects of the prehistoric vegetation deity became separate deities Tammuz and Innini, Lugalbanda and Ninsun. The cult of the earth mother and her dying brother or son was transferred to Erech from the older Sumerian cities Dêr and Ashnunak.

In the historical glosses appended to the Sumerian chronological list of early kings of the first dynasty of Erech<sup>2</sup> it is said that the oldest name of this city was Eanna "Temple of

<sup>1</sup> The expression *ama-ni-ir* "to his mother" occurs also in II 17; III 41; the subject of I 18 cannot be Enmerkar for he is repeatedly described here as the son of Shamash.

<sup>2</sup> See POEBEL, *Historical Texts*, p. 74.

heaven" where Meskingašer founded a Sumerian kingdom about 5000 u.c.<sup>1</sup> Obviously the prehistoric foundation here was strictly religious consisting in simply a sacred institution for the cult of the heaven god and the deities associated with him, all of whom were transferred from the older northern cities. Meskingašer is described as the son of Shamash. He ruled 325 years and is reputed to have been translated to heaven. He was succeeded by his son Enmerkar who is mentioned in this poem. The poem describes him as the "son of Shamash." The chronological list says of him that he built the city Unug "The vast abode," a name corrupted into Uruk, the Biblical Erech and reigned 420 years. The deified Lugalbanda, the shepherd, who according to the poem came to rescue Enmerkar from his foes, succeeded to the throne and reigned 1200 years. The journey of Innini, referred to in the address of Lugalbanda, probably means her migration from Dêr to Erech and Kullab, a quarter of the greater city. Lugalbanda himself came to Erech from the same province.

At Col. II 30 Innini begins her reply to Lugalbanda; she describes him as "the brother of their father and their friend." Now Lugalbanda was in fact a type of Isir or Tammuz, the dying god of prehistoric Sumerian religion, and the brother or son of Innini. He like Tammuz was only a deified king who was identified with dying god Abu, Isir, Ama-ušumgal, of Sumerian religion. The phrase employed in this poem is, however, extremely obscure. Innini, Ninsun, Ninlil, Bau, Aruru are all types of a prehistoric unmarried earth-mother, and the earth-god Enlil is said to have been her brother.<sup>2</sup> The "brother of their father" would then mean that Lugalbanda was supposed to be the brother of Enlil, who according to Nippurian theology assisted in the creation of mankind and is constantly referred to in religious texts as "Father Enlil."<sup>3</sup> Innini in her address (II 30—36) assures victory to Enmerkar and promises to go herself to Kullab.

Lugalbanda's reply begins at line 37 of column two without the usual literary introduction. He complains of Innini's disregard for her people. In fact she bears the reputation of a goddess fickle in love and easily offended in the entire history of Sumero-Babylonian religion. But Lugalbanda's address (II 37—III 4) turns to the better aspect of her character. She, the protecting genius of mankind, will comfort her people with counsel, that man revoke not his plight to man, and the demons will flee before her shining light. With line five of column three of the poem begins a passage (III 5—18) in which Lugalbanda's expedition to relieve Erech and subdue far away lands is described. Innini remained faithful to Erech and fled not from its sanctuaries. She looked proudly upon Lugalbanda as upon her own lover Ama-ušumgal. At this point there is an obscure reference to Shuruppak, a city north of Erech in Sumer, reputed to have been one of the five cities which existed before the Flood. Here Zi-udsuddu, last of the prediluvian kings, built the ship on which mankind survived the destruction of the world by the deluge. The city is mentioned again in Col. IV 34—41, where Innini promises its restoration and "they with the breath of life in Shuruppak" should find peace again. Innini apparently remonstrates with Lugalbanda (III 22—3) for desiring to change the capital to Shuruppak.

Lugalbanda, now triumphantly received by the great goddess at Erech, begins (III 25) a long address to Innini. Enmerkar, son of Shamash and brother of Innini, had been chosen for the kingdom by the goddess herself. In this speech (III 25—IV 12), Lugalbanda repeats *verbatim* twenty-three lines of his earlier address to Innini (II 6—28=III 30—IV 12), beseeching her to

<sup>1</sup> See the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* VII 151.

<sup>2</sup> See *Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, p. 23, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 22.



prosper the founding of Erech, to transfer her cult to that city, and to assist his arms in battle. This petition, originally addressed by Lugalbanda to his mother at Dêr, before they had migrated to Erech and had delivered Enmerkar, is not appropriate to the situation after the victory, but this fact did not disturb the ancient poet.

The poem ends with the reply to Innini (IV 15—41). Erech shall enjoy prosperity under Enmerkar, but if she find offence in Erech she will return to Dêr.

In brief, the theme of this long poem is based upon two historical traditions. (1) Lugalbanda of Dêr came to the assistance of the new Sumerian settlement at Erech which had become the champion of Sumerian civilisation and the capital of Sumer and Accad. The old Semitic kingdom of Kish had been subdued, but Enmerkar, the second king of the Erech dynasty, was in sore distress. His danger excited the patriotism of the older Sumerian cities in the north and they came to his aid. (2) The Sumerian cults of Dêr and Ashnunak were imitated at Erech which henceforth became the centre of the worship of Anu and Innini. It is possible that the recovery of this semi-mythological poem concerning Enmerkar and Lugalbanda may assist in the future interpretation of the epic of Gilgamesh.

## W—B. 162. Col. I.

10. . . . . dš-ba KU ?? ba-ab-	10. . . . .
[ ]	
11. [ ] ġar-sag-ga <sup>1</sup> im-	11. . . . .
me-ri-bal-[bal]	
12. [ ]-ám[ ]-gál-la-[ ]	12. . . . .
13. [ ] Šurubbak . . . .	13. . . . .
14. [ ] Unug(ki)-bi[ ]-ab-dun-dun	14. . . . .
15. [ ]-gi bar-bar-ri im-ġim ní-ám	15. . . . .
16. [ní-bi-e <sup>2</sup> ] im-mu-a ġín-na-ġim <sup>3</sup>	16. In fear go thou voluntarily. <sup>4</sup>
17. [ ] Šurubbak dúg-dúg sil-bi ba-nàg	17. . . . .
18. ud ba-zal-zal ud ba-gid-gid-mu amu-ni-ir	18. The day dawned and when it lengthened
ba-ġí	to his mother he replied.
19. <sup>a</sup> En-síg-ga an-na ba-e- è	19. "Ensigga hath caused thee to transcend
	all on high.
20. a-šag-ga igi-ba-ab-ġul IM-SU-e ne-ib-uš <sup>5</sup>	20. In the fields evil . . . . . and . . . . .
	pursues."
21. ní-bi-e im-mu-a ġín-na-ġim	21. As one who goes in fear voluntarily,
22. kaskal-la ki-ba-ni-ib- uš	22. Upon the road he set forth.
23. ġiš-ġir kur-ra-ge ba-ni-ib- UD	23. The scorpion (?) of the mountain . . . . .
24. ušumgal ur-bi mu-un- tag-tag- ġi	24. The python also approached hard by.
25. galu-eri-šú du-ù nu- tub-ba <sup>6</sup>	25. Unto the inhabitants of the city though
	going he came not;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Col. III 11.<sup>2</sup> Cf. l. 21 and PBS. 1 Part 2 No. 104 Obv. 4, ní-bi-a; PBS. X, No. 19, 25; Gudea, Cyl. A 12, 5.<sup>3</sup> For this emphatic verbal suffix, ġim, ġin, v. PBS. X 282 n. 3.<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Sum. Gr.* p. 113 n. 4.<sup>5</sup> Cf. PBS. V 26 Obv. 17.<sup>6</sup> *tub*, probably a variant of *dib* = *ba'u*.

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26. *Kullab-šu du-ù sag-nu-mu-un-na-ab-sum-mu*  
 27. *šab-ba En-me-ir-kar dumu <sup>a</sup>Babbar-ge*  
 28. *ní-ba-ni-in-te zi-ba-ni-in-ir za-pa-ág-bi ba-  
ni-in-idim*  
 29. *galu-eri-šu mu-un-gí-gí a-ki mu-ši-kin-kin*  
 30. *Kullab-šu mu-un-gí-gí a-ki mu-ši-kin-kin*  
 31. *ka-sir igi-bar-ra-ka mu-un-ed*  
 32. *galu-eri-šu mē-e ga-rá nu-mu-un-na-ab-bi*  
 33. 20 *gū-ma<sup>1</sup>-šu ki-kuš-lu-úb-gar-ra<sup>2</sup> gù-mu-  
un-ed<sup>3</sup>*  
 34. *galu-eri-šu mu-e ga-rá nu-mu-na-ab-bi*  
 35. *ka-sir igi-bar-ra mu-un-ed keš-du-dug*  
 284 36. *<sup>a</sup>Lugal-ban-da gir kalam-mā mu-na-un-zi  
gù-mu-na-de-a*  
 37. . . . . *mu-e eri-šu ga-rá galu  
nam-mu-da-du*  
 38. . . . . *gal-mu-dé ga-rá galu  
nam-mu-da-du*  
 39. . . . . *na eri-šu ni-du-un<sup>4</sup> galu na-e-da-du*  
 40. *Kullab-šu en-ne ni-du-un galu na-e-da-du*  
 41. . . . . *an-na zi-ki-a ni- . . . . .*

26. Unto Kullab though going he hastened not.  
 27. Therein Enmerkar, son of Shamash,  
 28. trembled in fear, he sorrowed and his  
wailing was loud.  
 29. Unto the inhabitants of the city he turned,  
a messenger he sent.  
 30. Unto Kullab he turned, a messenger he  
sent.  
 31. Troops of reconnoitre he sent forth.  
 32. Unto the inhabitants "Verily I go" he  
said not.  
 33. Unto 20 leaders he entrusted the army.  
 34. Unto the inhabitants "Verily I go" he  
said not.  
 35. Troops of reconnoitre he sent forth . . . .  
 36. Lugalbanda came up by the way of the  
Land and to him he called.  
 37. . . . . to the city "Verily I go" to  
no one be said.  
 38. . . . . to my . . . . "Verily I go"  
to no one be said.  
 39. ". . . . into the city he entered" shalt  
thou to none say.  
 40. "Into Kullab . . . . he entered" shalt  
thou to none say.  
 41. . . . .

## Col. II.

1. . . . . -ra ba-ra-ed  
 - 292 2. . . . . *En-me-[ir-kar] dumu <sup>a</sup>Babbar-ge*  
 3. *[azag] <sup>a</sup>Innini-ge . . . . . ni-in-dug*  
 4. . . . . *nin-mu kug <sup>a</sup>Innini-ge*  
 295 5. *[kur-muš-ta] šag-kug-ga-ni-a ġe-im-ma-ni-  
pad-dé*  
 6. *[Unug-ga] bunin ġe-me-ám a ġe-im-de-a*

1. . . . . to . . . . . he went not up,  
 2. . . . . Enmerkar, son of Shamash,  
 3. To the holy Innini said(?):  
 4. ". . . . . my lady, holy Innini,  
 5. [in the glorious mountain] hath chosen (me)  
in her pure heart.<sup>5</sup>  
 6. In Erech let a fountain be and water be  
poured out.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *gū-ma*, a kind of ox-herd, RTC. 27 I 3, is usually written *gu-ma*; v. PBS. X 317, 20; *Poème du Paradis*, 180, 11 and p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> This ideogram is usually read *ugnim*, Br. 9647, but the phonetic variant *úb* for *úb* and the phonetic complement *ra* indicate the ordinary value of the signs. Cf. RA. 15, 5, 42.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *gù-ba-a* = *gù-ba-è*, she speaks, RA. 7, 108 II 1 and Gudea, Cyl. A 20, 8.

<sup>4</sup> For *dun* = *erēbu*; v. IV R. 20, 17; 28 A 21; K. 2871, 13 = EBELING, KAR. 14 I 34; IV R. 17 A 45.

<sup>5</sup> See Col. III 28.

<sup>6</sup> Lines II 6—29 are repeated in III 30—IV 13.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>7. [parim]<sup>1</sup> ġe-me-ám <sup>2</sup>A-TU-GAB-LIŠ ġe-mú-ám</p> <p>8. ġiš-ġi ġe-me-ám ġi-sún<sup>3</sup> ġi-ġenbur<sup>4</sup> ġe-mú-ám</p> <p>9. <sup>4</sup>En-ki lugal Eridug-ga-ge</p> <p>10. ġi-sún-bi ġa-ma-an-zí<sup>5</sup> a-bi ġa-ma-an-tíl<sup>6</sup></p> <p>11. mu 50-uš ġu-mu-sá mu 50-uš ġu-mu-dū</p> <p>12. Kí-en-ġi Uri nigin-ba</p> <p>13. mar-rú galu še-nu-zu ġu-mu-zí</p> <p>14. báal Unug-ga gu-ġu-na-dim edin-na ġe-ni-lá-lal</p> <p>15. i-ri-a-ba<sup>7</sup> ki-ġál-la-ba ġi-li<sup>8</sup>-mu ba-tíl</p> <p>16. áb-šilam-ma amar-bi lá-a-ġim erin-mu mu-da-lal</p> <p>17. dumu ama-ni-ir ġul-ġig eri-ta é-a-ġin</p> <p>18. nin nin-mu kug <sup>4</sup>Innini-ge síġ Kullab-ge ki-dúr-ra . . . .</p> <p>19. ud-da eri-ni ki-ġa-ba-an-ág-ġà a-ra-ġul ġa-ma- . . . .</p> <p>20. é eri-da a-na-aš-ám da-lal-e-[en]</p> <p>21. ud-da eri-ni ġul-ġa-ba<sup>9</sup>-ġig-ġà a-ra ki-ġa-ba-[an-ág?]</p> <p>22. é eri-da a-na-aš-ám<sup>10</sup> da-lal-e-[en]</p> | <p>7. Let earth foundations exist and the <i>šarbatu</i><sup>2</sup> tree spring up.</p> <p>8. Let reeds exist, let grass and ripening grain spring up.</p> <p>9. May Enki, lord of Erech,</p> <p>10. its verdure make good and cause its waters to give life.</p> <p>11. 3000 years are past, in 3000 years verily it has been built.</p> <p>12. In Sumer and Accad altogether</p> <p>13. the wicked Amorite shall it expel.</p> <p>14. May the wall of Erech be loftily built, and the (nether) plain may it join upon.</p> <p>15. Its . . . . . and its . . . . . my riches shall . . . . .</p> <p>16. Like a cow that gazes upon her calf I look upon my warriors."</p> <p>17. The son to his mother as to one who causes distress to depart from the city (continued to say):</p> <p>18. The lady, my lady, holy Innini, the brick walls of Kullab . . . . .</p> <p>19. If her city truly she loves, and the painful journey truly she . . . . .</p> <p>20. The temple of the city why has she despised?</p> <p>21. If truly she hates (not) her city and to the journey she <i>consents</i>,</p> <p>22. The temple of the city why has she despised?</p> |
|---|--|

<sup>1</sup> Restored from Col. III 31. For *parim* = *nabalu* and *parimu*, v. VAB. IV 106, 20 and 180, 65. *parim* is a literal rendering of the two parts of this sign *pa-rim*.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning this important tree in Sumerian mythology, v. MEISSNER in MVAG. 1913, Part 2, 61—3. MEISSNER suggests "mulberry." Perhaps "ash;" v. AJSL. 39, 285.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is established by *gi-sim-ni gi na-ù-tud*, "The glades produce not reeds," SBP. 334, 16; in the parallel passage, CT. 13, 37, 25, *gi-sún gi-ġenbur* = *uššu udittu*, grass and ripe grain stalks. On the other hand *gi-sín* is rendered by *udittu*, EBELING, KAR. 16, 33, in a passage where *gi-sim* has the meaning "basin, canal," and is not properly rendered there.

<sup>4</sup> *gi-KAK* for *gi-ŠE-KAK*?

<sup>5</sup> Text *AD*! but see III 33; *zí* for *zi-ib* = *šābu*. Cf. SBP. 116, 31.

<sup>6</sup> Var. III 33, *tíl*.

<sup>7</sup> Var. III 38, *i-ri-ba*; *i-ri-a*, *i-ri* is an unknown word, hardly for *e-ri-a*, ruins. Perhaps for *erim* = *išittu*, sanctuary.

<sup>8</sup> *ġi-li* is employed with *tíl* in *ġi-li-bi nu-tíl-la* = *ša kuzub-šu la ġatú*, whose splendor is inexhaustible, ATU. I 285, 11 and cf. SBII. 101, 50.

<sup>9</sup> Also IV 5 omits *ra*! A negative meaning is imposed by the context.

<sup>10</sup> See below, I. 37.



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 23. <i>nu gál-gig-gi</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Im-dugud-(ġu)</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>amar-ra-gim</i>                            | 23. . . . . the divine Zû-bird like . . . . .                        |
| 24. <i>nî-te-a-nî PA-um-ma-an-SAG (?)</i>   | 24. . . . .  |
| 25. [ <i>mudur</i> ]- <i>kug-ga-nî-a um-ma-an-šub-bi</i>  | 25. with her sacred scepter will she <i>overthrow</i> .              |
| 26. <i>šig Kullab-šú ġe-im-ma-nî-in-tu-ri-en</i>  | 26. Into 'brick-walled Kullab mayest thou enter.                     |
| 27. <i>é-gid-da</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>mu ud-dé ba-gub</i> <sup>3</sup>  | 27. My long bow like a scorching wind shall stand.                   |
| 28. <sup>kuš</sup> <i>E-TUM-UR</i> <sup>4</sup> - <i>mu ud-dé e- ? -ri</i>  | 28. My shield like a scorching wind . . . . .                        |
| 29. <i>nin nin-mu kug</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Innini-ra</i> <sup>5</sup> <i>ūr-gim</i> <sup>6</sup> <i>ġi-mu-na-ab-bi</i> | 29. The lady, my lady, holy Innini thus spoke:                       |
| 30. <i>kug</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Lugal-ban-da é-gal-ta im-ma-da-ta-ed</i> <sup>7</sup>                                  | 30. "Holy Lugalbanda from the palace shall go forth with them,       |
| 31. <i>šeš a-a-ne-ne ku-lî-ne-ne</i>  | 31. The brother of their father and their friend,                    |
| 32. <i>ur-ġirim ur-ra-gim ġu-um ġa-mu-un-ši-ib-za-na-aš</i>   | 32. He the swift lion like a lion the assassin will <i>destroy</i> . |
| 33. <i>dun-ġirim dun-tu-ra-gim rab mu-un-na-ta-ed</i>   | 33. He the swift boar like a <i>wild-boar</i> the tyrant will expel. |
| 34. <i>en-ra Unug-šú ġi-mu-un-ši-ib</i>   | 34. Let this lord return to Erech,                                   |
| 35. <i>En-me-ir-kar dumu</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Babbar-ge</i>  | 35. Enmerkar, son of Shamash.  |
| 36. <i>Kullab-šú áš-mu-dé ga-rá galu nam-mu-da-rá a-gim mu-un-ni-dúg</i>  | 36. Unto Kullab alone I go and no one with me goes." So she said.    |
| 37. <i>a-na-áš-am</i> <sup>8</sup> <i>sag-ba-ra-mu-e-da-ab-uš</i> <sup>9</sup>  | 37. "Why art thou not faithful?                                      |
| 38. <i>galu ag-ġiš-ra-gim erin-e ġe-im-tāg-nam</i>  | 38. Like one who makes carnage she abandoned the yeomen.             |
| 39. <i>dingir ġul-šág-ga me-nam mu-da-da-gub-bu-nam</i>   | 39. Thou art a kind joy-bringer who standeth by.                     |

## Col. III.

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| 1. <i>lamma šág-ga</i> <sup>10</sup> <i>me-nam mu-na-ġin-na-ám</i>    | 1. Thou art a kind protecting genius who giveth confidence. |
| 2. <i>galu ka-áš-gal galu áš-kud-du</i> <sup>11</sup> <i>me-e (?)</i> | 2. A mighty counselor, an adviser <i>thou art</i> ,         |

<sup>1</sup> The Zû-bird is mentioned in connection with <sup>a</sup>Lugalbanda in PBS. V No. 16 Obv. 9, 13, 16. Rev. 14; note *ibid.* *amar* <sup>a</sup>*Im-dugud* (ġu).

<sup>2</sup> *é-gid-da* = *á-gid-da*, rendered by *ariktu*, IV R. 18\* Col. III 7. The Var. Col. IV 11 has the ordinary word *giš gid-da*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the title of Shamash, <sup>a</sup>*Ud-de-gub-ba*, CT. 24, 31, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Col. IV 12, *E-BU-UR*. Cf. RA. 12, 79, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Var. IV 13, *ge*. See *Sum. Gr.* § 163, and for *ra* emphatic, cf. BE. 29 No. 7, 21 with IV R. 13 *a*, 12, *ra* Var. of *ge*.

<sup>6</sup> Col. IV 13 omits *ūr-gim* = *kiam*, PBS. V 152 XII 8. Cf. BARTON, *Miscel. Inscr.* 9, 4.

<sup>7</sup> V. *Sum. Gr.* § 201.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. PBS. I, Part 2, No. 96, 1+10.

<sup>9</sup> See RA. 15, 211, note on *pûla ummudu*.

<sup>10</sup> *AN-ĪJUL* and *LAMMA* are synonyms. Cf. *dingir-ġul* in KING, *Magic*, 12, 105 and BE. 31, No. 35, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Poème du Paradis*, 170, 20; IV R. 21\* b 34.



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| <p>3. <i>galu-bi galu-ra nu-gi-gi-dé ba-ra-gi-gi</i></p> <p>4. <i>ud-zal-li-in-zu-ta ba-ra-da-läg-gi-en-za-na</i></p> <p>5. <sup>a</sup><i>Lugal-ban-da šag-ka-silim šeš-a-ne-ne-ka</i></p> <p>6. <i>šag-pa</i><sup>2</sup> <i>ku-li-ne-ne-ka</i><sup>3</sup></p> <p>7. <i>ninda-kaskal-ka-ni nu-um-ka-aš</i></p> <p>8. <sup>giš</sup><i>ku-a-ni</i> [?] <i>bi šu-im-ma-an-ti</i></p> <p>9. <i>kur ur-</i> [ ] <i>bád-da ma-du-um-e</i></p> <p>10. <i>zag-an DU an-ta sag-an DU an-na-ta</i></p> <p>11. <i>gar-sag-5 gar-sag-6 gar-sag-7 im-me-ri-bal-bal</i></p> <p>12. <i>gig-par-a é-eri-dá kug</i> <sup>a</sup><i>Innina-ge nu-um-ma-ka-áš</i><sup>4</sup></p> <p>13. <i>šig Kullab-šú gír gul-la mi-ni-in-gub</i></p> <p>14. <i>nin-a-ni kug</i> <sup>a</sup><i>Innini-ge</i></p> <p>15. <i>zid-da ga-na-an-ġun</i><sup>5</sup> <i>gil</i><sup>6</sup> <i>ki-a</i><sup>7</sup> <i>mu-un-dé-za</i></p> <p>16. <i>igi šag-gul-la</i> <sup>a</sup><i>Innini-ge</i></p> <p>17. <i>sàb-ba Ama-ušumgal-an-na-ra mu-un-ši-bar-ra-gim</i><sup>9</sup></p> <p>18. <i>kug</i> <sup>a</sup><i>Lugal-ban-da mu-un-ši-in-bar</i></p> <p>19. <i>gù šag-gul-[la]</i> <sup>a</sup><i>Innini-ge</i></p> <p>20. <i>dumu-ni . . . . . mu-un-na-de-a-gim</i></p> <p>21. [<i>kug</i>] <sup>a</sup><i>[Lugal-ban-]da mu-un-na-da-de-a</i></p> <p>22. <i>eri-ta á-ág-gà a-na-áš mu-é-túm</i><sup>10</sup></p> <p>23. <i>Šurubbak áš-zu-dé</i><sup>11</sup> <i>a-gim im-da-du-en</i></p> | <p>3. That man to revoke not (his plight) to man turn not.</p> <p>4. When thou shinest forth, may you flee away.”<sup>1</sup></p> <p>5. Lugalbanda, he of joyful heart, the brother of their father,</p> <p>6. the sagacious, their companion,</p> <p>7. food for his journey asked not.</p> <p>8. His weapon . . . ly he seized.</p> <p>9. The foreign land . . . . .</p> <p>10. To the boundaries of heaven . . . . . the zenith (?) of heaven . . . . .</p> <p>11. Unto the five mountains, the six mountains, the seven mountains he penetrated.</p> <p>12. In the dark chamber from the temple of the city holy Innini they caused not to flee.</p> <p>13. Unto brick-walled Kullab gladly she directed her foot-steps.</p> <p>14. His lady, holy Innini,</p> <p>15. faithfully was appeased, with treasures she was satiated.</p> <p>16. As with a glad heart Innini</p> <p>17. looks upon the shepherd Ama-ušumgal<sup>8</sup> the heavenly,</p> <p>18. upon the holy Lugalbanda she looked.</p> <p>19. As with glad heart Innini</p> <p>20. to her son [<i>the healer</i>] speaks,</p> <p>21. to the holy Lugalbanda she spoke:</p> <p>22. “From the city why bringest thou a message</p> <p>23. to Shuruppak, thou alone?” So she spoke.</p> |
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<sup>1</sup> The line is apparently taken from an incantation text; cf. CT. 16, 25, 39.

<sup>2</sup> This word is probably distinct from *šag-šig* = *zurub libbi*, distress, SAI. 6022; PBS. X 256, 13; *šutaktumu*, RA. 10, 79, 5. For *šag-pa* = *māliku*, cf. CT. 16, 44, 80, *šag-bi mu-un-da-ab-pa-pa* = *imtallik*.

<sup>3</sup> *ka* is superfluous here and due to dittography.

<sup>4</sup> For *aš* plural, v. *Sum. Gr.* p. 167 n. 7; *Poème du Paradis*, 145, 27—8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. SBP. 274, 2.

<sup>6</sup> For this sign, v. PBS. I 101 II 5; BE. 31, No. 16 I 11.

<sup>7</sup> Probably the original of *gilsa-a* = *šukuttu*. For the change *ki* > *si* > *sa*, v. *Sum. Gr.* § 40b and *ki-gab* SBP. 200, 18 = *sa-ba* KL. No. 2 Rev. I 39; *nu-gi-a* = *nu-sá*, SBP. 82, 52 = 158, 58.

<sup>8</sup> I. e. Tammuz, the son of Innini.

<sup>9</sup> The clause contains a grammatical construction which is new. Here *gim* is construed with the entire phrase which is regarded as a noun, and the whole phrase has then the force of an adverbial clause. The verb *igi-bar* has the subject and object and adverbial phrase inserted between its elements.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. RADAU, *Miscel.* 20, 2; BE. 30, 6 IV 11.

<sup>11</sup> See also above II 36.

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| 24. <i>kug</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Lugal-ban-da mu-na-ni-ib-gi-gi</i>                                  | 24. The holy Lugal-banda replied to her:  |
| 25. <i>šeš-zu a-na be-in-dug a-na be-in-de</i> <sup>1</sup>  | 25. "What has thy brother spoken, what has he commanded?  |
| 26. <i>En-me-ir-kar dumu</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Babbar-ge a-na be-in-dug a-na be-de</i>               | 26. Enmerkar, the son of Shamasli—what has he spoken, what has he commanded?                        |
| 27. <i>ki ud-ba</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>nin nin-mu kug</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Innini-ge</i>               | 27. Where once the lady, my lady, holy Innini,  |
| 28. <i>kur-mūš-ta šag azag-ga-ni-a</i> <i>še-im-ma-ni-pud-dé</i>                                   | 28. in the glorious mountain chose (him) in her pure heart,   |
| 29. <i>síg Kullab-šu</i> <i>še-im-ma-ni-tu-ri</i>  | 29. into brick-walled Kullab may she enter.   |
| 30. <i>Unug-ga bunin</i> <i>še-me-ám a</i> <i>še-im-de-a</i>                                       | 30. In Erech let a fountain be and water be poured out.   |
| 31. <i>parim</i> <i>še-me-ám</i> <sup>gis</sup> <i>A-TU-GAB-LIŠ</i> <i>še-mú-ám</i>                | 31. Let earth foundations exist and the <i>šarbatu</i> -tree spring up.                             |
| 32. <i>giš-gi</i> <i>še-me-ám</i> <i>gi-sún</i> <i>gi-ženbur</i> <i>še-mú-am</i>                   | 32. Let reeds exist, let grass and ripening grain spring up.  |
| 33. <sup>a</sup> <i>En-ki lugal Eridug-ga-ge</i>   | 33. May Enki, lord of Erech,  |
| 34. <i>gi-sún-bi</i> <i>ša-ma-zí a-bi</i> <i>ša-ma-an-tíl</i>                                      | 34. its verdure make good and cause its waters to give life.  |
| 35. <i>mu</i> <i>šO-uš</i> [ <i>gu</i> ] <sup>3</sup> <i>mu-sá</i> <i>mu-šO-uš</i> <i>gu-mu-dū</i> | 35. 3000 years are past, in 3000 years verily it has been built.                                    |
| 36. <i>Ki-en-gi Uri</i> <i>nigin-na-a-ba</i>   | 36. In Sumer and Accad altogether   |
| 37. <i>mar-rá galu</i> <i>še-nu-zu</i> <i>gu-mu-un-zi</i>  | 37. the wicked Amorite shall he expel.  |
| 38. <i>bád Unug-ga gu-gu-na-dím edin-e</i> <i>še-ni-lá-lal</i>                                     | 38. May the wall of Erech be loftily built and the (nether) plain may it join upon.                 |
| 39. <i>i-ri-ba ki-gál-la-ba</i> <i>gi-li-mu ba-tíl</i>   | 39. Its . . . . . and its . . . . . my riches shall . . . . .                                       |
| 40. <i>áb-šilam-ma amar-bi lá-gim erin-[mu]</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>mu-da-lal</i>                      | 40. Like a cow that gazes upon her calf I look upon my warriors.                                    |
| 41. [ <i>dumu ama-ni-ir</i> ] <i>gul-gig eri-ki-ta</i> <i>è-a-gim</i>                              | 41. The son to his mother as to one who causes distress to depart from the city (continued to say): |

## Col. IV.

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|---|--|
| 1. <i>nin nin-mu kug</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Innini-[ge]</i>                      | 1. The lady, my lady, holy Innini,   |
| 2. <i>síg Kullab-šu</i> <i>šu</i> . . . . . <sup>5</sup>                      | 2. unto brick-walled Kullab . . . . .                                      |
| 3. <i>ud-da eri-ni ki-ga-ba-[an-ág-gà a-ra-gul</i><br><i>ga-ma</i> . . . . .] | 3. If her city truly she loves and the painful journey truly she . . . . . |
| 4. <i>é eri-da a-na-ás-ám da-[lal-e-en]</i>                                   | 4. The temple of the city why has she despised?                            |

<sup>1</sup> The scribe made this sign correctly after the old monumental form in line 21, but in lines 25—6 the cursive form employed at Ellasar is adopted. See GRACE, *Yale Series* V 119, 21 &c.

<sup>2</sup> See BL. p. 46 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted in the original.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted on the original.

<sup>5</sup> Col. II 18 has a different text.

5. *ud-da eri-ni ġul-ġa-ba-gig-[gà a-ra ki-ġa-ba-an-ág]* 5. If truly she hates not(?) her city and to the journey she consents,
6. *é eri-da a-na-áš-ám da-lal-[e-en]* 6. The temple of the city why has she despised?
7. *nu gál-gig-gi <sup>a</sup>Im-dugud-(ġu) amar-ra-[gin]* 7. . . . . the divine Zû-bird like . . . . .
8. *ní-te-ni PA-um-ma-an-[SAG?]* 8. . . . .
9. *mudur-kug-ga-ni-a um-ma-an-šub-bi* 9. with her sacred scepter will she *overthrow*.
10. *síg Kullab-šú ġe-im-ma-ni-[in-tu-ri-en]* 10. Into brick-walled Kullab mayest thou enter.
11. *ġiš-ġid-da-mu ud-dé ba-gub* 11. My long bow like a scorching wind shall stand.
12. *<sup>kuš</sup>E-BU-UR-mu ud-dé . . . . .* 12. My shield like a scorching wind . . . . .
13. *nin nin-mu kug <sup>a</sup>Innini-ge gù-[mu-na-ab-bi]* 13. The lady, my lady, holy Innini spoke:
14. *kug <sup>a</sup>Innini-ge mu-na-ni-ib-[ġi-ġi]* 14. Holy Innini to him replied:
15. *i-ne-šú id-šin-na a . . . . .* 15. "Now the cleansing river water . . . . .
16. *id <sup>kuš</sup>A-EDIN-LAL<sup>1</sup> zaġin dingir . . . . .* 16. The river, the clean water jar of . . . . .
17. *kun-bi ki a-ki-a<sup>2</sup> bi . . . . .* 17. Its reservoir where the waters of the earth . . . . .
18. *essad-e ú-lál-e<sup>3</sup> ni . . . . .* 18. The keeper of the fisheries the . . . . .
19. *kin-dumu(ġa) ú-i-li a . . . . . in-nag-e* 19. . . . .
20. *ġiš-urin-(ġa) an-sukud kun- e* 20. The spear fish . . . . .
21. *šáb-ba e-ne ġul-la . . . . . ? -bi . . . . . e* 21. Therein . . . . .
22. *kun . . . . . -ib-ri-e* 22. The reservoir . . . . .
23. *<sup>ġiš</sup>šinig . . . . . a-bi* 23. Tamarisk . . . . .
24. *bunin-bi . . . . . nag-e* 24. Its fountain . . . . . shall give to drink.
25. *áš-bi dū-dū áš-bi dū-dū* 25. . . . .
26. *<sup>ġiš</sup>šinig . . . . . áš-bi dū-dū* 26. The tamarisk . . . . .
27. *En-me-kar dumu <sup>a</sup>Babbar-ge* 27. Enmekar, son of Shamash,
28. *<sup>ġiš</sup>šinig un-sig <sup>ġiš</sup>bunin-šú un-dím* 28. the tamarisk shall plant, in the fountain he shall set it.
29. *gi . . . . . ki-kug-ga ur-ba mi-ni-sir ki<sup>4</sup>-im-ma-an-ti* 29. The reed . . . . . in a pure place shall strike deep its root, and *in earth it shall find life*.
30. *ġiš-urin(ġa) an-sukud-kun-e šab-ba ù-ba-ra-è-a* 30. The spear fish . . . . . therein . . . . .
31. *ġa-bi un-ku-un-ne UN BU* 31. The fish . . . . .
32. *da-an-kar da-ag <sup>a</sup>Innina-ka ù-be-in-nag* 32. . . . . of Innini drink.
33. *erin-ni šu-bi ġe-en-HAR ni-ib-súg-súg* 33. His warriors may his hand . . . . . as they hasten (?).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *nād mē*, KING, *Magic* 53, Rev. 17.<sup>2</sup> See RA. 12, 29 n. 1.<sup>3</sup> *ù-lál-e* also in W. B. 161 III 9 after *súġur*-fish; see *ibid.*, note.<sup>4</sup> Text clearly *šn*.



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| <p>34. <i>zi Šurubbak-(ki) ka-lu-la ġe-ni-in-nad (?)</i></p> <p>35. <i>eri ki-kug-gim e-kug-gim ñ-be-in-ku</i></p> <p>36. <i>zagin-gim ma bi-za<sup>1</sup>-gim</i></p> <p>37. <i>eri-da ñ-be-lal Dêr-(ki)ni-ib- ? ?</i></p> <p>38. <i>Šurubbak-(ki) ama-dúb ama-dúb-ba šu-ġu-<br/>mu-ra-nigin</i></p> <p>39. <i>Šurubbak-(ki) zag-è-a-bi <sup>dāg</sup>zagin-a ru-am</i></p> <p>40. <i>bád-bi síg sag-zi-bi ġuš-a ní-bi im-an-na<sup>2</sup></i></p> <p>41. <i>kur ġa-šu-úr-ra sag-im-KID-ám</i></p> <p>42. <i>kug <sup>d</sup>Lugal-ban-da zag-sal.</i></p> | <p>34. May they with the breath of life in Shuruppak <i>repose</i> in . . . . .</p> <p>35. May the city like a consecrated place, like a consecrated temple abide.</p> <p>36. Like a thing that is pure, like a carnival house may it abide,</p> <p>37. If the city I dislike and to Dêr <i>return</i> (??),</p> <p>38. Of Shuruppak <i>the desolated sanctuary</i>, her desolated sanctuary I will repent me of;</p> <p>39. Shuruppak whose exit was carved in lapis lazuli;</p> <p>40. Its wall and its <i>rampart</i> splendidly and awefully arise;</p> <p>41. Like the cedar mountains it . . . . .”</p> <p>42. O praise the holy Lugalbanda.</p> |
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<sup>1</sup> Cf. RA. 12, 77, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *anna* is apparently a clear example of the verb *an* = *ašû*, Var. of *en*, *ed*. See my note on *ġu-an-na*, JRAS. 1920, 328. Cf. *bád-gal* . . . . . *ní-bi-šú è-a*, SAK. 212 b) II 6.

# A HYMN TO ENLIL-BANI.

(W—B. 160.)

W—B. 160 is a six sided prism pierced perpendicularly by a round hole, and carries altogether about 175 lines, constituting the longest document now published concerning Enlil-bani, eleventh king of the Isin dynasty (2201—2177 B. C.).

The tablet is dated in the 17th(?) year of Samsu-iluna, 2063(?) B. C., or more than a century after the reign of Enlil-bani. The prism was recovered at Ellasar and proves apparently that these hymns to famous deified kings of the preceding period continued in use under the rulers of the Semitic kingdom of Babylon, or at any rate excited the religious and literary interest of the scribes in the older Sumerian cities of that period. A fragment of a hymn to the same king is published in my *Historical and Religious Texts*, No. 38.<sup>1</sup>

Two Babylonian chronicles preserve a tradition that Enlil-bani was not the son of his predecessor Girra-imitti, but a gardener who was placed upon the throne by his predecessor to continue the dynasty (there being no heir to perpetuate the line).<sup>2</sup> For tablets dated in his reign see *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 17; CHIERA, PBS. VIII, p. 70 and SCHIEIL, RA. 14, 151.

## W—B. 160. Col. I.

7. <i>ud kur-kur-a-</i>	<i>ge</i>	7. Light of the lands.
8. <i>nam-nun-n[u]</i>	<i>]-a (?)</i>	8. In princely power . . . . .
9. <i>me-šar gú-</i>	<i>ed</i>	9. Who the totality of decrees <i>putteth on</i> .
10. <i>zag an-</i>	<i>ki</i>	10. Unto the boundary of heaven and earth,
11. <i>uku-dagal dūr-ru-</i>	<i>na</i>	11. The wide dwelling peoples he caused to dwell.
12. <i>igi-duġ</i> <sup>3</sup> <i><sup>d</sup>En-[lil-la-ge]</i>		12. The favorite of Enlil.
13. <i><sup>d</sup>Nin-lil</i> . . . . .		13. Whom Ninlil . . . . .
14. <i>mudur</i> . . . . .		14. A scepter . . . . .
15. <i>me-dím</i> . . . . .		15. . . . .
16. <i>maġ (?)</i>	<i>šibir (?)</i>	16. <i>A far famed staff.</i>
17. <i>uku šūr-gal</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>ba-e- . . . .</i>	17. The multitude of people thou . . . . .
18. <i><sup>d</sup>En-lil</i>	<i>. . . . .</i>	18. Whom Enlil . . . . .
19. <i>dumu-maġ <sup>d</sup>Sin-</i>	<i>ge</i>	19. Far-famed son of Sin.

<sup>1</sup> See Obv. 10.

<sup>2</sup> KING, *Chronicles concerning early Babylonian Kings* II 12+15.





<sup>3</sup> *niš ěni*.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "a great *sar*" = 2,160,000. See *Sum. Gr.* 120 n. 1. Cf. the title of Anu, *<sup>d</sup>Šār-gal = ša kiššat šamē irġitim*, CT. 24, 19, 3.

20. <i>sib-maš</i> <sup>1</sup>			20. The . . . . . shepherd of . . . . .
21. <i>niġ zi-gál</i>	<i>DU - ? -</i>	<i>nu</i>	21. Them with the breath of life thou . . . .
22. <i>an-dál-</i>		<i>dagal</i>	22. The vast shadow which
23. <i>kur-kur-ri</i>		<i>si-a</i>	23. filletth the lands.
24. <i>nun-maġ-</i>		<i>di</i>	24. The grand prince,
25. <i>An-gál-e</i> <sup>2</sup>		<i>pad-da</i>	25. Whom great Anu named.
26. <i>ama-gál</i> <sup>a</sup> Ni[n-tud tud-da]			26. Whom the great mother Nintud [ <i>bore</i> ].
27. <i>nir-gál</i>			27. The heroic . . . . .
28. <sup>a</sup> <i>En-lil-</i>		<i>ba-ni</i>	28. Enlil-bani
29. <i>nir-ġu-mu-un-gál-e-en</i>			29. Thee may she encourage.
30. <i>dúg-</i>	<i>dúg-</i>	<i>ga</i> <sup>3</sup>	30. With sweet words,
31. <i>sub</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>enim-ma</i>	<i>šúg</i>		31. And prayers which render the (divine) commands favorable

## Col. II.

1. . . . .	1. [May she before Enlil
2. . . . .	2. [. . . . . intercede . . . . . for thee.]
3. . . . . <i>kug</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Innini-ku</i>	3. Thee the . . . . . of holy Innini
4. <sup>a</sup> <i>Asar-</i> <i>lù-</i> <i>dug</i>	4. Marduk
5. <i>giš-túg-geštug mu-ra-un- ?</i>	5. Wisdom unto thee has . . . . .
6. <sup>a</sup> <i>Nidaba</i>	6. Nidaba,
7. <i>nin-dingir</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Nidaba-e</i>	7. The priestess Nidaba,
8. <i>bur-</i> <i>šu-</i> <i>um</i> <sup>5</sup>	8. The grey haired,
9. <i>ušbur(bur)</i> <sup>6</sup> <sup>a</sup> <i>En-lil-[la-ge]</i>	9. Mother-in-law of Enlil,
10. <i>nin ? -ba</i> . . . . .	10. The queen who . . . . .
11. . . . . <i>zi ù-</i> . . . . .	11. . . . .
12. . . . . <i>ṬUN</i> . . . . .	12. . . . .
13. . . . . <i>sa</i> . . . . .	13. . . . .
14. . . . . 15. . . . . <i>bu-ma</i>	14—15. . . . .
16. . . . . <i>num-ti-lu-ka</i>	16. . . . . of life.
17. . . . . <i>be-in-DU</i>	17. . . . .
18. . . . . <i>gi-gí</i>	18. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RTC. 27 II 1; DP. 113 XI.<sup>2</sup> Or read <sup>a</sup>*Gal-e* = *Anu*. Cf. <sup>a</sup>*Gu-la*, "The great god," SBP. 12, 3; 38, 3, *et passim*.<sup>3</sup> Cf. PBS. X 258, 13.<sup>4</sup> Written *KA* + *NUN*.<sup>5</sup> *buršum* is rendered into Semitic by the loan-word *puršumu*, a cup bearer, an office apparently confined to old men and women. Nidaba is called the *puršumtu* of Nippur, PSBA. 1911, 86, 23 and in CT. 17, 22, 132 a *puršumtu* priestess grinds the grain (of Nidaba) in a ritual. The *puršumu* is associated with the *pašišu*, RA. 15, 63, 9 and the priestly office *nam-bur-šu-ma* is frequently mentioned; BE. VI<sup>2</sup>, 36, 2; 39, 2; 66, 2; PBS. VIII 12, 2; 15, 4. Hence *puršumu*, elder, is of Sumerian origin. The word contains the noun *bur* = *pûru*, a bowl.<sup>6</sup> The sign  represents a confusion of two ancient signs: 1) *UR-gunu*, Syl. B 278 with value *ušbar* = father-in-law, *enu*. BM. 34912, 19 states distinctly that  (confused and identified with ) is based upon *U-RA*. 2)  (*azu*, *uzu*) = *barû*, prophet, is based upon *NINDA*, Syl. B 202. For the *UR-GUNU* sign see also, PBS. 12 No. 9, Rev. I 19 f.; PBS. 9 No. 132.



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|---|---|
| 19. . . . . <i>an-gé ma-ra-ni-pad</i>   | 19. . . . . has entrusted to thee.                            |
| 20. <i>nam-igi-gál</i> (21) . . . <i>e mu-ra-PA-KAB-DU</i>                      | 20. Vision has given thee.                                    |
| 22. . . . . <i>zagin</i> (23) <i>ká</i> . . . <sup>a</sup> <i>Nidaba ka-zal</i> | 22. . . . .   |
| 24. <i>sá-pad-dé</i> (25) <i>nam-šú mu-ri-in-tar</i>                            | 24. She has destined thee to watch.                           |
| 26. <i>nig-si-di</i> (27) <i>kalam-mu dalla ba-e-ed</i>                         | 26. Justice thou causest to arise splendidly upon the Land.   |
| 28. <i>šág-ga-zu</i> (29) <i>kur-kur-ra im-me</i>                               | 28. Thy goodness the lands proclaim.                          |
| 30. <sup>a</sup> <i>En-lil-ba-ni</i> (31) <i>galga geštug-dirig tuk</i>         | 30. Enlil-bani, the counselor, possessor of exceeding wisdom, |
| 32. <i>šag-kuš-ù</i> (33) <i>dì-zu enim-dib-gál</i> <sup>1</sup>                | 32. The solicitous, (33) the just, the possessor of prudence. |
| 34. <i>azag-zu nig-uam-ma</i>   | 34. Knower of all things.                                     |

## Col. III.

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|--|---|
| 1. . . . . (2) <i>amaš</i> . . . . .   | 1—2. . . . .  |
| 3. <i>sá-dúg</i> (?) . . . . (4) <i>si-di</i> . . . . .  | 3—4. Who the regular offerings (?) promotes (?)   |
| 5. <i>ka-áš-bar</i> . . . . (6) <i>bar-ri</i> . . . . .  | 5. Renderer of decisions . . . , (6) . . . . .  |
| 7. <i>ka-aš</i> ? <i>KA</i> . . . (8) <i>šag-gi ka-gál-la</i> <sup>2</sup>                                   | 7. . . . . , (8) who gives satisfaction to complaints.                                  |
| 9. [ . . . . . <i>enim</i> ] <i>gar-ra</i>   | 9. Who . . . . . to plaintiffs. <sup>3</sup>  |
| 10. . . . . <i>e-zu</i> (11) . . . <i>DI kug-gi-gim</i>  | 10. . . . . , (11) . . . . . like gold  |
| 12. <i>mu-e-bàr-e</i> (13) <i>si-nu-sá</i>   | 12. Thou causest to shine. (13) Injustice   |
| 14. <i>ú-za-an e-ag</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>e</i> (15) <i>nig-kúr-di</i>   | 14. thou punishest. (15) Hostility  |
| 16. <i>gisal-bi mu-e-gul</i> (17) <i>nam-tag-ga</i>  | 16. with the flail thou destroyest. (17) Of transgression                               |
| 18. <i>tuğ-ù-tu</i> ? <i>-bi mu-e-zu</i>   | 18. thou knowest the releasing.   |
| 19. <i>nir-da-a</i> (20) <i>sag-giš nu-ub-ra-ra-an</i>   | 19. Pestilence, which none can slay,  |
| 21. <i>gub-gub ba-e-zu</i> (22) <i>dúg mu-e-dug-dug</i>  | 21. Thou knowest to restrain. (22) Sweet words thou speakest,                           |
| 23. <i>šag-lal-sud</i> (24) <i>gulu zi-ba</i> <sup>5</sup> <i>ág me-en</i>                                   | 23. Thou the merciful. (24) He that loves to bestow life art thou.                      |
| 25. <i>ne-sag si-ga</i> <sup>6</sup> (26) <i>gulu ku-nu</i> <sup>7</sup> <i>dì</i>                           | 25. Giver of burnt offerings, he that presents offerings.                               |
| 27. <i>GĪR-NITAH</i> <i>su</i> <sup>8</sup> (28) <i>sag-dun</i> <sup>9</sup> <i>a-lum</i><br><i>la-ba-ag</i> | 27. Foremost of governors, (28) Mighty <i>sagdun</i> , the <i>labag</i> . <sup>10</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *enim-dib-ba-mu* = *pirišti-ja*, RA. 11, 145, 21.<sup>2</sup> *mukîn libbi ša pākiri*.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 8, 4; 13, 11.<sup>4</sup> Or read *mē*. Literally "to use the whip." Cf. *kušusan-me-a mi-ni-gi-gi*, BE. 30, 8 III 6 and *ibid.* IV 6. 7. 10. 12.<sup>5</sup> Cf. *zi-ba* = *kāšat napīšti*, KAR. 73 R. 15.<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Sam. Gr.* 199, 47.<sup>7</sup> *ku-nu* = *ḫarābu*, *ḫirēbu*, *ṭahū* (RA. 11, 144, 16) and *gana* = *ḫarābu*, CT. 12, 10 a 1.<sup>8</sup> For *sug* = *šaḫū* (?).<sup>9</sup> Variant of *sag-tūm*, a kind of scribe. Cf. Gudea, Cyl. B 11, 24; RT. 19, 51 No. 10, *et passim*.<sup>10</sup> Cf. *šuLa-ba-ag-kalag*, CRAIG, RT. 57, 22; *labag* for *lu-bag*?

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|---|---|
| 29. <i>ud-zu erin-kár-ra</i> (30) <i>á ne-ib-gar</i>    | 29. Thy wrath (?) the army of the foe (30) overmasters. |
| 31. <i>giš-ku-zu</i> (32) <i>giš-ku gab-ri nu-tuk-a</i> | 31. Thy weapon is a weapon without rival.               |
| 33. <i>tún-a-zu-dé</i> (34) <i>kur-kur</i>              | 33. With thy toothed sickle the lands                   |
| 35. <i>gam-e-en</i>                                     | 35. thou crushest.                                      |

## Col. IV.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. . . . . (2) . . . . . (3) . . . . .  | 1. . . . . , (2) . . . . . , (3) . . . . .                                    |
| 4. . . . . (5) . . . . . <i>ni-ib-gí-gí</i>   | 4. . . . . , (5) . . . . .  |
| 6. . . . . <i>dug lu šár-da</i>   | 6. . . . .  |
| 7. <i>kug</i> <sup>dag</sup> <i>gug zugín-ta</i> (8) <i>é-gal-zu-šú</i>                       | 7. Gold, carnelian and lazuli (8) unto thy palace                             |
| 9. <i>ša-ma-ra-ni-in-tu(r)-tu(r)-ne</i>   | 9. they cause to enter for thee.  |
| 10. <i>sub-bi-u</i> (11) <i>ki-su-ub a-ra-šá-ne</i>   | 10. With adoration they make obeissance to thee.                              |
| 12. <sup>a</sup> <i>En-lil-ba-ni lugal</i> (13) <i>šag uru-na dug-dug</i>                     | 12. Enlil-bani the king, who makes glad the heart of his city.                |
| 14. <i>Nippur-(ki)-šú</i> (15) <i>sūb<sup>1</sup> girim-kár-ri<sup>2</sup> me-en</i>          | 14. For Nippur . . . . . art thou.  |
| 16. <i>še-maḡ-tum<sup>3</sup></i> (17) <i>é ġir-nu-gal me-en</i>                              | 16. Bearer of grain in great quantity, (17) to the temple thou . . . . . not, |
| 18. <i>ud-šù-uš-e</i> (19) <i>suḡ-nu-túm-mu-bi me-en</i>                                      | 18. Daily thou ceasest not.   |
| 20. <sup>a</sup> <i>En-lil-e</i> (21) <i>mu-ni-sà me-en</i>                                   | 20. Whom Enlil chose by name thou art.  |
| 22. <sup>a</sup> <i>Nin-lil-li</i> (23) <i>šá-tam aš-ni me-en</i>                             | 22. Of Ninlil thou art the only <i>šattam</i> -priest.                        |
| 24. <sup>a</sup> <i>Nin-urta</i> (25) <i>ur-sag-kalag-gu</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>En-lil-lá-ge</i> | 24. Ninurta, mighty champion of Enlil,  |
| 26. <i>à-na-gub<sup>4</sup></i> (27) <i>kur-ki-bal-zu-šú</i>                                  | 26. who stands impetuously, in the land hostile unto thee,                    |
| 28. <i>gú-érim-gál</i> (29) <i>za-túg(?) nu-gál-la</i>  | 28. the wicked (29) . . . . .   |
| 30. <i>sū-gim mu-ra-an-duḡ</i>  | 30. like grain in store, heaps up for thee,                                   |
| 31. <i>X<sup>5</sup>-gim mu-ra-an-sal</i>   | 31. and like . . . . . scatters for thee.                                     |
| 32. <sup>a</sup> <i>Nusku</i> (33) <i>en é-kur-e si(g)</i>                                    | 32. Nusku, the lord that fills Ekur with light,                               |
| 34. <i>á-ág-gà niḡ-šúg-ga</i>   | 34. sender of beneficence.  |

## Col. V.

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|--|---|
| 1. . . . . (2) . . . . . (3) . . . . .                       | 1. . . . . , (2) . . . . . , (3) . . . . .  |
| 4. . . . . <i>zu</i> . . . . . (5) <i>šag-dagal-zu</i> . . . | 4. . . . . , (5) . . . . .  |
| 6. <i>nam-i-ri-in-[tar]</i>                                  | 6. for thee decreed.  |
| 7. <i>gi-li gú kud-da-zu</i> (8) <i>nam-en mu-ra-an-mē</i>   | 7. He that understands the decision of the totality of all things lordship for thee foretold. |

<sup>1</sup> On the possible identification of this sign, v. JRAS. 1921, 581 n. 4.<sup>2</sup> Cf. PSBA. 1918, 83, 7.<sup>3</sup> This passage fixes the reading of Gudea, Cyl. A 15, 12; *urud-da-ni še-maḡ-tum-a-gim* "Its copper as one who brings much grain" (for Gudea the temple-builder will I cause to be obtained).<sup>4</sup> Semitic *kadriš izzazu* (?). Cf. KAR. 14 II 40, *à-na* = *kadriš*, and for the phrase as title of deities, PBS. X 113, 7; SAK. 216 c) 4; BL. 115, 1.<sup>5</sup> Cf. the similar sign in VS. XIV 163 II 7 + IV 2.

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|---|--|
| 9. <sup>a</sup> Nannar en zil-li (10) dumu <sup>a</sup> En-lil-la | 9. Nannar, the lord of praise, son of Enlil,                       |
| 11. X <sup>1</sup> nam-ti-la (12) sag-za ma-ra-ni-gi-en           | 11. the . . . of life, (12) has established thy head.              |
| 13. <sup>a</sup> Nu-dim-mud (14) dingir sag-dū-zu                 | 13. Nudimmud, god who is wise in foresight,                        |
| 15. abzu-ta (16) ġe-gál ma-ra-taġ                                 | 15. from the ocean unto thee has augmented prosperity.             |
| 17. <sup>a</sup> Innini-ge (18) é-an-na-ka-ta                     | 17. Innini from Eanna  |
| 19. šag-ġul-la (20) ġiš-šub-ba-za mi-ni-in-gar                    | 19. a glad heart made thy portion.                                 |
| 21. ki <sup>2</sup> -nad-kug-ga-ni-šū (22) gal-bi mi-ri-in-túm-mu | 21. Upon her holy couch grandly she conducted herself toward thee. |
| 23. ġig-ū-na (24) ud-mi-ni-ib-zal-zal-e-dé                        | 23. During the night and when the sun shines, <sup>3</sup>         |
| 25. ama-kalam-ma (26) <sup>a</sup> Nin-ì-si-in-na-ge              | 25. the mother of the Land, Nin-isinna,                            |
| 27. Ì-si-in-(ki)-a (28) ki-šu-za mu-e-tag                         | 27. in Isin thy . . . . .  |
| 29. <sup>a</sup> Babbar sá-kud (30) lugal an-ki-ge                | 29. Shamash, the judge, king of heaven and earth,                  |
| 31. ù-luġ <sup>4</sup> sag-ġig-ga (32) zi-dé-eš túm-túm-mu        | 31. who bears the scepter of the dark-headed peoples faithfully,   |
| 33. šu-za ma-ra-ni-ġi <sup>5</sup> -en                            | 33. has made firm thy hand.  |

## Col. VI.

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|--|--|
| 1. . . . . (2) . . . . . (3) . . . . .                 | 1. . . . . , (2) . . . . . , (3) . . . . .                   |
| 4. . . . . (5) . . . . .                               | 4. . . . . , (5) . . . . .                                   |
| 6. il-la . . . . . (7) an-ta ?-ga me-en                | 6. . . . . , (7) . . . . .                                   |
| 8. ub-?-ge (9) zūr . . . . . lugal- . . . . .          | 8—9. . . . . offerings . . . . .                             |
| 10. sal-i-rad-dug (11) dup-sar [kurnm]-ag <sup>6</sup> | 10. shall be well prepared for thee.                         |
| 12. é-dub-a (13) é-na-ri (14) kalam-ma-ka              | 11. The scribe of the sacred trust                           |
| 15. zag-sal-zu (16) mal-la (17) nam-ba-an-dág-ġi       | 12. in the house of writing, the cleansed house of the Land, |
|  | 15. shall not cease to sing thy praise.                      |

Month Addar, year when Samsuiluna, the king, the army of Emutbalum(ki) (smote).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The right half of this sign seems to be MAL + NUN. See GENOUILLAC, TSA. 11 Rev. VI 7; RTC. 66 Rev. V 4; &c.

<sup>2</sup> The sign is obviously intended for ki, but the form is unusual.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. "by day."

<sup>4</sup> For ġiš-u-luġ = uluġhû, scepter; v. MVAG. 1913, pt. 2, 29, 62; RA. 11, 146, 43; 16, 122; THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels*, 95, 28.

<sup>5</sup> See above, l. 12 and for ġi = kânu, v. Ni. 4506, Obv. 12; ġi-ri-ib-ġi = likûn.

<sup>6</sup> dupsarri piġitti, SCHEIL, *Nouvelles Notes* XXI in RT. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly a variant of the year-date 17 of this king. The complete formula may have referred to the defeat of the army, the destruction and restoration of the walls of Emutbal. See POEBEL, BE. VI p. 75.



## HYMN AND PRAYER TO THE MOTHER GODDESS FOR SUCCOR FROM DEMONS.

(W—B. 169.)

No. 169 is a medium sized rectangular prism pierced at the centre from top to bottom by a round smooth hole a half inch in diameter. The literary form of the composition is extraordinary. The text contains 97 lines divided into two sections. Lines 1—54 contain six descriptions of various demons and of the hag demon Labartu, defining her nefarious practices. Not only is the text imperfectly preserved in these six paragraphs, but the language itself offers insurmountable difficulties. Paragraph I mentions the *ka-ġul*, evil mouth (l. 1) and the *eme-ġul*, evil tongue (l. 5) of the wicked working goddess.<sup>1</sup> The evil deity is then described as *šagdurri padda ġir-nu-un-su-[su]*, "She that is named 'the womb,' whose foot *falters* not," and *dumu-sal galu nig-nu-tuk*, "The daughter (of Anu) who has no family." She is the demoness, the female with whom he that sleeps obtains not progeny (?) and unto him a wife is not given; *nunuz galu ná-a-da-a-ni nu-dul-[dul]*<sup>2</sup> *dam-a-ni nu-sum-ma-da-[ni]* (l. 8). Each of these six paragraphs closes with the line: *dingir ur-bi sá-a dingir lul-la-a-na ur-bi nu-me-en*, "A god who can stand as rival in opposition to her, a god whose wickedness is like hers, there is not."

Paragraph II begins in a liturgical strain; *ni-bal-e nig ab-bal-e ud galu balag-a ġigri*<sup>3</sup> *zi-mu nu-ġud-da*, "She curses, a curse she utters. When man sways to the drum not is my breath of live cut off." Line 13 mentions the *dul-lal*, "honey well;" a sacred place at Nippur has the name *dul-lal*, RA. 19, 69, 7. See also line 14. In this paragraph occur the words *agrig*, prophet (*galu-bal*, cf. SAI. 167 and PBS. V 147), and *galu-ġu-de-a*, wailer. Line 17 again describes the Labartu demoness: *sal-la tür-tür-ra galu ná-da-a-ni la-ba-an-ġul-li*, "The female who enfeebles (man)—with whom he that sleeps will not be glad." In the present condition of the text I can extract little meaning from paragraphs III, IV, V and VI which ends with Col. III 4.

The remaining 43 lines contain a remarkable address to the grain goddess Nidaba as the virgin goddess Innini. Seventeen of her temples are mentioned in which she is petitioned to extend succor to man against the demons. Nidaba was only a specialized type of the unmarried mother-goddess Innini, and as patroness of grain she possessed special power over demons.<sup>4</sup> This section has some similarity to the "Hymn to Innini as Queen of Heaven," in which several of her temples are mentioned.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *dingir-ġul-dág-ga* = *itamušalpīl*; cf. PSBA. 1895, K. 41 l 1.

<sup>2</sup> *dul* = *ridû ša ridûti*, Br. 9586, and *dul-la* = *ridûtu*, 9610. Cf. *é-dul-lá* = *edulû*, harem, CT. 18, 48, 13, and *e-du-la*, PBS. X 135, 33, where it should be rendered "harem." The word is probably derived from *dul*, to cover.

<sup>3</sup> *ġigri* usually means *halālu*, to creep into, not *halālu*, to sing, dance. The two words probably represent linguistic variants of one root "to dance, writhe."

<sup>4</sup> See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 154.

<sup>5</sup> Published in ZIMMERN'S *Kullieder*; v. PSBA. 1918, 79—82.

## Col. III.

5. <i>e-ne<sup>1</sup>-šú gub-ba e-ne-šú ku-a</i>	5. In these stand fast, in these abide.
6. <i>ud gid-da ud gūd-da in-na-ni-gid-da</i>	6. Length of days, shortness of days, shall be prolonged.
7. <i>Uri-(ki)-ma kisal-ad-da-zu-šú</i>	7. In Ur upon the court of thy father, <sup>2</sup>
8. <i>é-dilmun-na é èš-dam-zu 1-kam-ma</i>	8. is the Temple of Dilmun, the first temple of thy throne room. <sup>3</sup>
9. <i>Kullab-(ki) uru-ki <sup>a</sup>Gibilgames<sup>4</sup></i>	9. In Kullab, the city of Gilgamish,
10. <i>é-igi-dū-a-(ki)<sup>5</sup> é èš-dam-zu 2-kam-ma</i>	10. is the temple Igidua, the second temple of thy throne room.
11. <i>Unu-(ki)-ga uru-ki šag-gi-pad-da-zu</i>	11. In Erech, the city of thy heart's choice,
12. <i>é-an-na-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 3-kam-ma</i>	12. is Eanna, the third temple of thy throne room.
13. <i>éš Nibru-(ki) é <sup>a</sup>En-lil-lá-kam</i>	13. In the house of Nippur, in the temple of Enlil,
14. <i>é bara-dug-gar-ra-(ki)<sup>6</sup> é èšdam-zu 4-kam-ma</i>	14. is Ebaraduggarra, the fourth temple of thy throne room.
15. <i>Bad-tibira-(ki)<sup>7</sup> uru-ki nam-ma-gí-a-ta</i>	15. In Badtibira, the city of convents, <sup>8</sup>
16. <i>é-innín-kalam-ma-(ki)<sup>9</sup> é èš-dam-zu 5-kam-ma</i>	16. is the "Temple of Innini of the Land," the fifth temple of thy throne room.
17. <i>Hallab-(ki) uru-ki <sup>a</sup>ga-LAH(?)<sup>10</sup>-na-ta</i>	17. In Hallab, the city of <sup>a</sup> Gaginna(?),
18. <i>é-gi-gun<sup>11</sup>-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 6-kam-ma</i>	18. is Egigun, the sixth temple of thy throne room.
19. <i>Kiš-(ki) uru-[ki n]am-lugal-la-ta</i>	19. In Kish, the city of rulership,
20. <i>é-ġar-sag-kalam-ma-(ki) é èš-[dam]-za 7-kam-ma</i>	20. is E-ġarsagkalamma, the seventh temple of thy throne room.

<sup>1</sup> See below IV 12.<sup>2</sup> For Innini as daughter of the Moon-god, v. *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 98 n. 2.<sup>3</sup> *èšdam* is here written *TUG*, REC. 468, but the true reading is REC. 469. Note *ki èš-dam-ma* = *ašar šituli*, Var. of *ki aš-te*, KL. 79 Rev. 1 = RADAU, *Miscel.* 15 Rev. 1 = Sm. 526, 18. In *èšdam* the meaning *kussû* (= *áš-te*) is more probable; cf. *ana é èš-dam eriba*, DA. 92, 10, and the N. Pra. Ur-èš-dam, Gfm-èš-dam, Nin-èš-dam-kenag, &c. CT. V 21 II 6; CT. VII 13, 16. This temple of Ishtar at Ur occurs in PSBA. 1918, 82, 32.<sup>4</sup> Written *Gišbil-mes-ga*. On the various readings of this name, v. PBS. X 208.<sup>5</sup> Throughout this text *ki* follows the names of temples, which are thus designated as sections of the cities. The temple at Kullab occurs in PBS. V 157, 11.<sup>6</sup> But this chapel of Innini in Ekur at Nippur is given as *é bara-dur-gar-ra* in ZA. X 294, 6+14 and so also the photograph in SCHEIL, *Sippar*, Pl. II; *dur* is probably the original sign and *dug* a scribal error.<sup>7</sup> Badtibira or Pantibiblos was the seat of the worship of Tammuz and Ishtar, v. JRAS. 1923, 253. Hence the description of the city which follows refers probably to the convent of the Ishtar priestesses. For *magia* < *gagia* = *gagû*, convent, probably also nuptial chamber, see BL. p. 35 No. 34 and JRAS. 1920, 512 n. 3.<sup>8</sup> Or nuptials(?).<sup>9</sup> Cf. PBS. V 157, 5.<sup>10</sup> Cf. BE. 31, 28, 18.<sup>11</sup> The sign is Br. 8189; probably the *gunu* of REC. 284, with value *usan*, Code of Hammurabi, § 202, and also *laytan*, RA. 18, 65 VIII 36. At any rate a sign with value *gun* is required here. See PSBA. 1918, 82, 30, *gi-gun-na* at Hallab, and PBS. V 157, 16.

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|---|---|
| <p>21. <i>A-ga-dé-(ki) uru-ki mu-pad-da-zu</i></p> <p>22. <i>é-ul-maš-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 8-kam-ma</i></p> <p>23. <i>Umma-(ki) uru-ki <sup>d</sup>Šara-?<sup>1</sup>-ta</i></p> <p>24. <i>é-<sup>d</sup>Ib-gal<sup>2</sup>-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 9-kam-ma</i></p> <p>25. <i>Adab-(ki) uru-ki <sup>d</sup>Nin-tu-ra-ta</i></p> <p>26. <i>é-sar-ra-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 10-kam-ma</i></p> <p>27. <i>[Ellasar]<sup>5</sup>-(ki)-ma uru-ki šag-te-na-ta<sup>6</sup></i></p> <p>28. <i>é-me-ür-ür-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 11-ma</i></p> <p>29. <i>[Marada?]- (ki) uru-ki gi(?) -gál-la-ta</i></p> | <p>21. In Agade, the city whose name thou hast chosen,</p> <p>22. is E-ulmash, the eighth temple of thy throne room.</p> <p>23. In Umma, the city of <sup>d</sup>Šara-gal(?),</p> <p>24. is the "Temple of the deity of the Ibgal," the ninth temple of thy throne room.</p> <p>25. In Adab, the city of <sup>d</sup>Nintur,<sup>3</sup></p> <p>26. Esarra<sup>4</sup> is the tenth city of thy throne room.</p> <p>27. In <i>Ellasar</i>, the city that appeases the heart,</p> <p>28. is the "Temple which conducts decrees," the eleventh temple of thy throne room.</p> <p>29. At <i>Marada</i>, city of the "opening of the ears,"</p> |
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## Col. IV.

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|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>é-šag-te-na-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 12-kam-ma</i></p> <p>2. <i>Ka(?) -zal-lu-(ki) uru-ki ?-ba-šág-ga-ta</i></p> <p>3. <i>é-šag-šul-la-(ki)<sup>7</sup> é èš-dam-zu 13-kam-ma</i></p> <p>4. <i>Akša(k)-a-(ki) uru-ki kenag-gà-ta</i></p> | <p>1. is the "Temple that appeases the heart," the eleventh temple of thy throne room.</p> <p>2. In <i>Ka-zallu</i>, the city of good . . . . .,</p> <p>3. is the "Temple of the glad heart," the thirteenth temple of thy throne room.</p> <p>4. In Akšak, the beloved city,</p> |
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<sup>1</sup> We have here a more full form of the name of the god of Umma, but the second part of the name is defaced. Perhaps read *Šara-gál*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibgal, "great room" is the name of Innini's temple at Umma, PSBA. 1918, 82, 38; BL. 73, 34, and cf. CONTENAU, *Textes Ec. d'Umma*, 5762 I 15.

<sup>3</sup> This passage proves that the mother goddess commonly read *Nintud* is to be read *Nintur* with DEIMEL, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, No. 2740 and POEBEL, PBS. IV 24, where he distinguished between the titles *Nintud* (Code of Hammurabi III 35; Nin-tu-ud CT. 24, 12, 13 = 24, 25, 82, &c.) and *Nintur*. Both titles clearly refer to the same goddess, particularly associated with Adab. I was quite wrong in refusing to recognize the title *Nintur* in PBS. X 96, but the meaning of this title is obscure. For the reading, cf. <sup>d</sup>Nin-tu-ra, PBS. IV 13, 3; *Nies Collection* II 24, 29, *Nin-tu-ri*, Var. 25, 29, Nin-tu-ra; and other examples in BL. 54, 5; *Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 184, 40; *Nin-tu-tu-ri*, CT. 24, 25, 81.

<sup>4</sup> Esarra was in reality the name of the temple of Nintur at Adab; here Innini is identified with Nintur. See PBS. V 157, 7; AJSL. 30, 221.

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately the signs are completely defaced here and in PBS. V 157, 15. The temple E-me-ür-ür is mentioned on two bronze canephori, one of which is said to have been found at Afadj (but there are no ancient ruins there according to all obtainable information). See THUREAT-DANGIN, SAK. 218 c) and VS. I 31. In BL. Pl. XI, K. 9315, 11, *unun E-me-ür-ür* refers to Shamash(?) and <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-me-ür-ür* is a title of this deity, CT. 25, 39, 9. In the canephori of Kudurnabug this temple belongs to Innini. The traces of the sign before *ki* clearly indicate *UNU* and since Ellasar is not otherwise mentioned, here or in PBS. 157, the restoration *UD-UNU* is probable.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. KAR. 99, 9, a title of Nergal there.

<sup>7</sup> The temple is mentioned on a canephorus of Kudurnabug, who built it for Nanā, SAK. 220 I 14.



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| <p>5. <i>an-za-ka<sup>1</sup>-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 14-kam-ma</i></p> <p>6. <i>Gù-dam-ma-(ki) uru-ki ul-lí-a-ta</i></p> <p>7. <i>é-mé-a-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 15-kam-ma</i></p> <p>8. <i>I-si-in-na-(ki) uru-ki nam-nun-na-ta</i></p> <p>9. <i>é-síg-me-zíd-du<sup>2</sup>-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 16-kam-ma</i></p> <p>10. <i>A-URU<sup>3</sup>-a-(ki) uru-ki ġe-gal-la-ta</i></p> <p>11. <i>A-nim-ma-(ki) é èš-dam-zu 17-kam-ma</i></p> <p>12. <i>e-ne-šú gub-ba e-ne-šú ku-a</i></p> <p>13. <i>ud-gid-da ud gūd-da in-na-ni-gid-da</i></p> <p>14. <i>dumu-sal Ki-en-gi-(ki) Uri-ge</i></p> <p>15. <i>ama ñim tū-bi silim tun-ni gul-la-ba-gim<br/>tag</i></p> <p>16. <i><sup>a</sup>Nidaba dumu-sal dingir-kug-ga ili <sup>a</sup>En-<br/>lil-lá dūg-bal-bal šág-šág</i></p> <p>17. <i><sup>a</sup>Innini dumu-gal-zu <sup>a</sup>Zuen-na in-dugud<br/>gar-ra tar kūr-ra in-tud</i></p> <p>18. <i><sup>a</sup>Innini in-ninni<sup>4</sup> <sup>a</sup>Nidaba zag-sal</i></p> | <p>5. is Anzakar, the fourteenth temple of thy throne room.</p> <p>6. In Cutha (?), the eternal city,</p> <p>7. is the "Temple of battle," the fifteenth temple of thy throne room.</p> <p>8. In Isin, the city of princes,</p> <p>9. is Esigmeziddu, the sixteenth temple of thy throne room.</p> <p>10. In . . . . ., the city of plenty</p> <p>11. Animma, is the seventeenth temple of thy throne room.</p> <p>12. In these stand, in these abide.</p> <p>13. Length of days, shortness of days, shall be prolonged.</p> <p>14. O daughter of Sumer and Accad,</p> <p>15. O mother, the curse of the hag demon appease, victoriously like . . . smite thou,</p> <p>16. O Nidaba, daughter, holy goddess and exalted of Enlil, imprecator who heals.</p> <p>17. Innini, thy great son Sin is glorified, mercy and the destruction of the wicked ones he has ordained.</p> <p>18. Innini, the lady Nidaba, praise.</p> |
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<sup>1</sup> The full form *é-an-za-ka<sup>1</sup>* in PBS. V 157, 8. Anzakar at Akšak (Upi), PSBA. 1918, 82, 37. Anzakar is, therefore, the name of the temple of the mother goddess of Akšak, who is identical with Nin-tag-a-tud-ġar-ra, glossed *id-dá-a-ri*, BA. V 619, 28 = BL. Pl. 54, 13, where her temple is called *Uršabba*, p. 72, 14; her title in VS. VI 213, 21 is *kallat ša áU-pi-ia*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. PBS. V 157, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Certainly identical with A-rú-a-(ki) somewhere in Sumer and mentioned only in the inscriptions of Eannatum; v. SAK. 243.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. KING, *Magic*, 1, 31; VAB. IV 276 III 37.

# RECORD OF THE ERECTION OF A TEMPLE TO NINEGAL BY THE WIFE OF RIM-SIN.

(W—B. 2.)

This monument is a clay cone with wide base, inscribed with a two column inscription in duplicate. One copy is written on the perimeter and one on the base. A similar account of the building of this temple is inscribed on a clay tablet now in Berlin and published by WINCKLER. See the edition and literature by THUREAU-DANGIN, SAK. 218 d). The Cone is complete whereas the text of the Berlin tablet is sadly damaged. The new text carries 23+23 lines, but the Berlin text only 15+14. It adds some new epithets of the goddess Nin-egal and proves that the name means "queen of the great house,"<sup>1</sup> a clear indication of an underworld deity. For a discussion of this underworld deity see my *Historical and Religious Texts*, p. 17 n. 3. This Cone was excavated at Senkereh, and the text naturally refers to her temple there and to her character as received in the priestly school of Ellasar. Here she is the daughter of the moon god (l. 15) and her abode is in the wide heavens (l. 9). She gave Rim-Sin's queen a name, a phrase indicating the cult to which this woman was attached when she received her official name; the name Simak(?)-Innini contains the name of the unmarried earth and heaven goddess Innini. This mother goddess's attributes include aspects of both spheres of influence. She was essentially an astral deity, but also as patroness of vegetation and the lover who descends to the lower world in quest of Tammuz, a chthonic deity. Ninegal, or Eresh-egal is by origin only an aspect of Innini as an underworld deity, but by confusion she is identified at Ellasar with the astral Innini. The cult of Ninegal had much vogue in Asia Minor from the 25th century onward. The fifth Cappadocian month bore her name, *arah* <sup>d</sup>*Nin-é-gal*, see LANDSBERGER, ZDMG. 74, 218, and the Semitic texts from the old Hittite capital frequently mention her name. See *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Vol. I p. 8, 57 *et passim*. At Assur, in the time of Bur-Sin of Ur, a patesi (Zariķu) dedicated a temple to *Nin-egallim*, MDOG. 54, 34.

## W—B. 2. Col. I.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <sup>d</sup><i>Nin-é-gal</i></li> <li>2. <i>nin-gal kilib sag-giḡ</i><sup>2</sup><i>-šar-ra zu</i></li> <li>3. <i>An</i> <sup>d</sup><i>En-lil</i> <sup>d</sup><i>En-ki-bi</i></li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To Ninegal,</li> <li>2. Great queen, into whose hand to know the totality of the dominion of the dark headed peoples,</li> <li>3. Anu, Enlil and Enki</li> </ol> |
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<sup>1</sup> See line 34, *egal* followed by the genitive suffix *ka*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *uku-šar-ra* = *kiššat nišē*, SAK. 218 d) 3.

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| 4. <i>šu-ni-ša be-in-si-eš-a</i>                     | 4. have entrusted;  |
| 5. <i>di eš-bar-bi si-di-di-e</i>                    | 5. Who conducts judgement and decision,                         |
| 6. <i>sá-gar-gar li-tar-tar gal-zu</i>               | 6. The counsellor, the solicitous, the wise,                    |
| 7. <i>gú<sup>1</sup> dingir-gal-gal-e-ne-ka</i>      | 7. Princess of the great gods,                                  |
| 8. <i>enem-maš dag-ga-ni nu-zag</i>                  | 8. The mighty "Word" of whose utterance is unrivaled,           |
| 9. <i>ki-šig-ga-ni an dagal-a dag-ga</i>             | 9. Whose sacred place she inhabits in the wide heavens,         |
| 10. <i>ki igi-zi-bar-ra-na</i>                       | 10. Where she contemplates with faithful eyes,                  |
| 11. <i>lamma                      nir-</i>           | 11. The protecting genius who gives confidence,                 |
| 12. <i>lám-túm<sup>2</sup> sum-mu-a</i>              | 12. With mercy begifted,  |
| 13. <i>dingir ūš-sud šu-nigin-bi<sup>4</sup> dug</i> | 13. Compassionate deity, whose favour is good,                  |
| 14. <i>dam a-ra-zu-e giš-tug<sup>5</sup></i>         | 14. Wife who harkens unto intercession,                         |
| 15. <i>dumu-gal<sup>a</sup> Zu-en-na</i>             | 15. Great daughter of Sin,                                      |
| 16. <i>á-ág-gà an-ki-a ūr-ūr</i>                     | 16. Who conducts the oracles of heaven and earth,               |
| 17. <i>nin-a-ni-ir</i>                               | 17. Her queen,  |
| 18. <i>Si-ma-ág(?)<sup>a</sup> Innini</i>            | 18. Simag(?)-Innini,  |
| 19. <i>dam kenag</i>                                 | 19. Beloved wife of   |
| 20. <i><sup>a</sup>Ri-im<sup>a</sup> Zu-en</i>       | 20. Rim-Sin,  |
| 21. <i>dun giš-tug<sup>6</sup> En-lil-lá</i>         | 21. The valiant, who obeys Enlil,                               |
| 22. <i>igi-dū-a An-na šag-kug-gi pad-da</i>          | 22. The delight of the eyes of Anu, whose pure heart chose him, |
| 23. <i>lugal kenag dingir-gal-gal-e-ne</i>           | 23. King beloved by the great gods,                             |

## Col. II.

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| 24. <i>šu il-la-ni še-ga</i>                      | 24. Whose prayers are pious,   |
| 25. <i>siš gú kalam ki<sup>7</sup>-Nibru-(ki)</i> | 25. Shepherd of the totality of the land in the territory of Nippur, |
| 26. <i>me giš-šar šu-dú Eridu-ga</i>              | 26. Who executes perfectly the decrees and ordinances of Eridu,      |
| 27. <i>engar-zid ú-a Uri-(ki)-ma</i>              | 27. Faithful husbandman and caretaker of Ur,                         |

<sup>1</sup> *gú* for *gud* = *ḫarradu, ašaridu*.<sup>2</sup> *lamassat mutakkilat*.<sup>3</sup> Probably for *šag-lám-túm* = *unninu*.<sup>4</sup> *ša saḫar-ša ṭābu*. See also ZIMMERN, KL. 65, 10, *šāb-ba ú-mu-gín-na-ge šu-mu-un-nigin-e*, (Nidaba) who causes the heart of the wrathful lord to repent.<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Lagash Cone of Rim-Sin, SAK. 216 a) 7.<sup>6</sup> Cf. RA. 15, 35.<sup>7</sup> The sign is clearly *KAR* on the Cone's perimeter and the sign on the base appears to be intended for *KAR*. The Lagash Cone of Rim-Sin, PRICE, *Literary Remains of Rim-Sin* XI 11 and photograph, *Découvertes* Pl. 41 has *KI*, which is obviously a better reading. Cf. *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 58. *Kalam* or "land" usually means "Home Land," i. e. Sumer; originally *Kigin* (= *Sumer*) indicated the region of which Nippur was the capital, v. *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 1. Note that *lugal Kingira* = *šar Nippuri*, POEBEL, PBS. IV 42 and OLMSTEAD, AJSL. 33, 293. In this passage *kalam* or "home land," that is Sumer, is regarded as identical with *ki-Nibru-(ki)*.



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| 28. <i>é-babbar-da ní-te-gà</i>                      | 28. Who is filled with awe by Ebabbar,                         |
| 29. <i>lugal Narar-(ki)-ma</i>                       | 29. King of Ellasar,   |
| 30. <i>lugal Ki-en-gi ki-uri-ge</i>                  | 30. King of Sumer and Acead.                                   |
| 31. <i>sal dū-na<sup>1</sup></i>                     | 31. She (Simag(?)-Innini), the humble woman,                   |
| 32. <i>me-te<sup>2</sup> lugal-šú túm-ma</i>         | 32. Who has been made fit for the adornment of a king,         |
| 33. <i>dúg-šag-šag-gi-bi maḡ-a</i>                   | 33. Whose prayers are mighty,                                  |
| 34. <i><sup>a</sup>Nin-é-gal-ka-šú</i>               | 34. To Ninegal,  |
| 35. <i>nd <sup>a</sup>Nin-é-gal nin-a-ni</i>         | 35. When Ninegal her lady                                      |
| 36. <i>mu-šág-ga-ni gù-zid be-in-de-a</i>            | 36. Proclaimed her sacred name faithfully,                     |
| 37. <i>é á-ág-gà kilib ūr-ūr</i>                     | 37. Of the temple which conducts the totality of ordinances,   |
| 38. <i>kidur nam-dingir-bi-šú túm-ma</i>             | 38. The dwelling place, made fit for her divinity,             |
| 39. <i>sag-bi ḡar-sag-gal-gim im-mi-in-il</i>        | 39. Its head she caused to be lifted up like a great mountain. |
| 40. <i>nam-til <sup>a</sup>Ri-im-<sup>a</sup>Sin</i> | 40. The life of Rim-Sin  |
| 41. <i>ud-da-eri-šú gál-li-dé</i>                    | 41. To cause to be unto eternal days,                          |
| 42. <i>ū<sup>3</sup> nam-til-la-ni-šú</i>            | 42. (And) for the days of her own life,                        |
| 43. <i>mu- na- dū</i>                                | 43. She built it.  |
| 44. <i>temen mu-pad-da</i>                           | 44. The foundation inscription, whose name                     |
| 45. <i>nam-nin-a-ka-na</i>                           | 45. Was chosen by her ladyship,                                |
| 46. <i>ud-sú-du-šú im-mi-in-gar</i>                  | 46. She laid unto far away days.                               |

<sup>1</sup> For Br. 333 with value *du(n)* = *ašru*, v. EBELING, KAR. 16, 37, *dū-na-ni* = *ašriš*; *sib dū-na*, SAK. 204, 3 l. 2, "the humble shepherd;" *dū-na-bi* = *ašriš*, humbly, SAK. 212 b) II 1 and for *sib-dū-na* see year date 2 of Ammizaduga and HILPRECHT, OBI. 68 I 8; *dū-e-eš* = *ašriš*, IV R. 17 A 38 and *ní dū en-zí-en* = *ašri pāliḡ-kunu*, V Raw. 60 A 64.

<sup>2</sup> So the inscription on the perimeter. The variant has *PA* clearly.

<sup>3</sup> Var. on base *ū* as on the Berlin tablet, SAK. 218 d) Rev. 9.



# SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION OF HAMMURABI.

## BUILDING OF THE WALL OF SIPPAR.<sup>1</sup>

(W—B. 6.)

### Col. I.

1. ud <sup>a</sup> .Utu	1. When Shamash, √
2. en-gal an-ki-bi-da	2. great lord of heaven and earth,
3. lugal dingir-ri-e-ne	3. king of the gods,
4. <i>Ha-am-mu-ra-bi</i>	4. whose obedient shepherd
5. sib še-ga-ni me-en	5. I, Hammurabi, am,
6. igi-lāg-ga-na	6. with his bright eyes
7. ġul-la-bi	7. gladly
8. <i>mu-un-bar-ri-en</i>	8. looked upon me,
9. nam-lugal-da (?) -na	9. and <i>for</i> his kingship
10. bal ud-sud-du	10. a reign unto far-away days
11. un-ni-in-PA + KAB + DU	11. granted me,
12. dumu-na <sup>2</sup> ma-da	12. the children of the Land—
13. <i>nam-en-bi ág-dé</i>	13. to exercise their rule
14. ma-an-sum-ma	14. gave me
15. ma-ni-in-gi-en	15. and confirmed unto me,
16. <i>Zimbir-(ki)</i>	16. and of Sippar
17. Ká-dingir-ra-(ki) uku-bi	17. and Babylon—its people
18. ki-dur ne-ġa dūr-ù-da	18. to cause to dwell in habitations of peace
19. dúg-kug-gi šub-da-na	19. by his spoken oath
20. be-in-dúg-ga-a	20. had commanded me,
21. bad Zimbir-(ki)	21. (and when) to build
22. <i>dū-ù-da</i>	22. the wall of Sippar,
23. sag-bi il-i-da	23. and to lift up its head,
24. á-ġal-ġu-mu-da-an-ág	24. grandly was I sent,
25. ud- ba	25. at that time
26. <i>Ha-am-mu-[ra]-bi</i>	26. Hammurabi,
27. lugal-kalag-ga	27. the valiant king,

<sup>1</sup> For a similar inscription in two columns, see KINO, LIH. No. 58 with Semitic version on No. 57. The British Museum possesses several duplicates of this somewhat similar inscription, all on truncated cones. W—B. 6 is a much longer text in three columns written in duplicate on a large cone with enlarged base. The projecting portion of the cone is entirely broken away and only a few signs of the beginnings of Col. I remain of that copy of the text. The circular base is also broken on one side, and of Col. III only a few signs are preserved. The cone was unbaked and is weather worn.

<sup>2</sup> *mar ameli*.

## Col. II.

1. lugal Ká-dingir-ra-(ki)	1. king of Babylon,
2. im- . . . . . gi(?) <sup>1</sup>	2. <i>an usurper</i>
3. <sup>a</sup> Utu-da . . . . .	3. <i>by the aid</i> of Shamash ( <i>overthrew</i> );
4. kenag <sup>a</sup> SIMUG (??) . . . . .	4. the beloved of the god . . . . .,
5. šag-dug-ga <sup>a</sup> Marduk	5. who maketh glad the heart of Marduk,
6. lugal ?-ni me-en	6. his . . . . . king I am.
7. á-kalag-mağ <sup>a</sup> SIMUG (??) . . . . .	7. Unto whom the god . . . . .
8. ma-ni-in- . . . . .	8. <i>gave</i> (?) far famed power.
9. ki-dúr . . . . . gar . . . . .	9. An habitation . . . . .
10. . . . . da-mu . . . . .	10. . . . .
11. . . . . bad Zimbir-(ki)	11. . . . . of the wall of Sippar <sup>2</sup>
12. sağar-ta ġar-sag-gal-gim <sup>3</sup>	12. with earth like a great mountain
13. sag-bi ġe-im-mi-il	13. its head I raised.
14. bad-mağ ġu-mu-dū	14. A mighty wall verily I built.
15. ud ul-lí-a-ta	15. What since from ancient days
16. lugal lugal-e-ne-ir	16. a king among kings
17. galu-na-me	17. any-one of them
18. ba-ra-an-dim-ma	18. had not built,
19. <sup>a</sup> Utu lugal-mà	19. to Shamash my lord
20. gal-bi ġu-mu-na-ir <sup>4</sup>	20. grandly I built.
21. bad- . . . . . bi	21. Of that wall
22. dūg-ga <sup>a</sup> Utu-ta	22. "By the command of Shamash
23. <i>Ha-am-mu-ra-bi</i>	23. may Hammurabi
24. gab-ri na-an-tuk-tuk	24. not have a rival "
25. mu-bi-im	25. is the name.
26. bal-šáğ-ga . . . . .	26. A good reign . . . . .
27. <sup>a</sup> Utu . . . . .	27. Shamash . . . . .

(Col. III entirely destroyed.)

<sup>1</sup> Uncertain. Compare the year date of Samsuiluna 14, *nu Samsuiluna lugal im-ġi(g) ġú-bar-ra* (= *zā'iru galu Uri-(ki)-ge ib-ta-bal-bal-e-eš-a sag-ġiš-be-ra*, "Year when S., the king, smote the rebellious and hostile king who had caused the people of Ur to revolt." See ZA. 24, 390. This date is falsely rendered by SCHORR, VAB. V 595.

<sup>2</sup> This restoration of the wall of Sippar is mentioned in the date formula of the 23d year of Hammurabi.

<sup>3</sup> Restored from LIH. 58, I 11.

<sup>4</sup> Also KING, LIII. 58, 40 has a variant *IR* for *KAK* = *epēšu*. *ir* may be a variant of *rú*, or *IR* which is only a gunufied form of *KAK*, may perhaps have the values *rú*, *dū*.

# TABLET OF REGULATIONS FOR DISPOSITION OF REGULAR OFFERINGS TO ISHTAR AND NANÂ OF ERECH.

(W—B. 10.)

This large tablet bears the title [*aš-šum?*] *ginê* <sup>u</sup>*Istar Uruk u* <sup>u</sup>*Nanâ ša ānu MU-BI*, "Concerning the regular offerings to Ishtar of Erech and to Nanâ for the days of the year." The colophon reads [*ša-tir*]-*ma barîm; bušî Éanna*, "It was written and collated; the property of Eanna." The tablet supplies an excellent commentary to the large tablet AO. 6451 in the Louvre, published by F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels Accadiens*, 62—5 and 74—86, in which the daily sacrifices to the gods "Anu, Antum, Ishtar, Nanâ and the gods who inhabit Bit-rêš, Ešgal and Ešarra, the great chapel of the stage-tower of Anu," are described. These were given at four daily meals for the gods of the great temple at Erech, the great and the little morning meals, and the great and little evening meals. The ancient name of the famous temple of Erech was Eanna, in which the cults of Anu, the heaven god, and of Innini-Ishtar were installed. In the late period this temple seems to have been enlarged into a group of temples, the cult of Innini being associated with her satellite and sub-form Nanâ and confined to the older temple Eanna; a greater temple *Bit-rêši* was then built for the cult of Anu, the heaven god, and his consort Antu, and the entire group of temples came under the general name of *Bit-rêš(i)*. W—B. 10 is concerned with the disposition of the offerings to Innini-Ishtar and Nanâ of Eanna only, and the regulations were ordered by Nabu-apal-iddin, the king of Babylonia (890—854), who established similar cult regulations for the temple of Shamash at Sippar.

2. Ten haunches,<sup>1</sup> shoulders<sup>2</sup> and ribs, the food of the king.<sup>3</sup>

3. Ten hearts, kidneys,<sup>4</sup> *našrapu*<sup>5</sup> (livers?) and haunches, *a-ri-a* for the *urigallû*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *zag-udu* = *imiltu*, literally the "right leg."

<sup>2</sup> *uzu-giš-kun* = *rapaštu*. See HOLMA, *Körperteile* p. 53 and note *šer'āni rapašti šumēli*, "muscles of the left shoulder," RA. 17, 66, 18.

<sup>3</sup> The regular sacrifices of all the temples were supplied by the king and the local members of the cult (*kāribu*, the worshipper). In the tablet of regulations for the apportionments of the offerings to the temple of Shamash at Sippar by Nabu-apal-iddin a distinction is made between the *niķê šarri* and the (*niķê*) *ša kāribi*. See also *niķê šarri niķê kāribi*, PEISER, *Verträge*, CVII, 4 = Nbk. 247, 2; KING, *Boundary Stones*, 124, 9 and 125, 17. 31. 50; RA. 16, 132. The Sippar tablet also refers to the royal prerogative in the distribution of the sacrifices, but here the *aḫu zillî šarri* is resigned to the high-priest. The king's contribution (*tardūtum šarri*) to the daily offerings at Erech are mentioned in AO. 6451 Obv. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *BIR* = *kalûtu*, Pl. *kalêti*, Rev. 46.

<sup>5</sup> *našrapu* is identical with *našrapu*, said to be the Semitic rendering of *GAR-TAB*, part of the liver. See BOISSIER, OLZ. 1915, 4. Here *našrapu* (in conjunction with heart and kidney) probably means by synecdoche the liver simply. The word occurs in Nbk. 247, 5 *šerna-aš-ra-(?)pu?*. See below, l. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *amel-ŠEŠ-GAL-û*. The *urigallû* is here distinguished from the ordinary sacerdotal classes; his position as high-priest gave him almost royal rank, and each temple seems to have possessed but one *urigallû*, who belonged to the *ašipu* class of priests, or the priests of mysteries. Ašurbanipal appointed his younger brothers to this office and the rituals seem to have prescribed that he be tonsured. See STRECK, *Assurb.* II 250, 16—18; III 648; THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels*, 129.



4. Ten haunches, ribs, breasts and <sup>šir</sup>*HAR-IŠ* for the ministrants of the temple.<sup>1</sup>
5. [Ten] haunches-*a-ri-a*, kidneys and *šaggiḫḫu*<sup>2</sup> for the ministrants of the temple.
6. [Ten(?)] legs,<sup>3</sup> the benefaction of Nabu-apal-iddin, king of Babylon, which he bestowed upon Nabu-kuzub-ilāni, son of Aḫar-ḫarrad, the priest of incantations, (and) rumps, for the king.
7. Six (?) legs (of mutton) for the secretary.
8. Six (?) legs (of mutton) for the ministrants of the temple.
9. [?] *šer Uḫ?* *šihirti* for the builders.<sup>4</sup>
10. [?] *šer ŠE(?)GAR-MAR* for the *šangu* priests of Eanna (?).
11. . . . .<sup>5</sup> *bal-ri-e* for the *bit ḫilṣu*.<sup>6</sup>
12. . . . . GÚ for the psalmist(s).
13. . . . . DU for the singer(s).
14. (?) ribs for the *zabardibbê*.<sup>7</sup>
15. [?] *pi*-i *kar-šu*<sup>8</sup> for the temple confectioners.<sup>9</sup>
16. . . . meat for Ili-šn-kiti, the baker.
17. [Five(?)] hides, stripped off, on the second and fifteenth days of each month, and the pieces of flesh assigned as food for the king, belong to Nabu-kuzub-ilāni, the priest of incantations; it is the benefaction of Nabu-apal-[iddin].
18. [Five(?)] hides, stripped off, for ministrants of the temple.
19. . . . ten hearts, small intestines, sweet-breads(?),<sup>10</sup> livers, secondly<sup>11</sup> for Nabu-kuzub-ilāni; benefaction of Nabu-apal-iddin, which he gave secondly to the priest of incantation.<sup>12</sup>
20. [?] hides of the living animals(?)<sup>13</sup> and *šêru at-ru-uk* for the *shepherds of* . . . . . (?)
21. [?] *ṭin-lib-bi-Pl. su-ḫu*<sup>14</sup> *lab(?)du* <sup>šer</sup>*issuruku* for the sailors.
22. [?] *ṭin-lib-bi-Pl.* for the builders.
23. [1] *ṭin-lib-bi* for the eunuch(s) (?).<sup>15</sup>
24. [*mašak*] *ši-ih-tu ma-la ru-up-šu ša paṭri* <sup>itu</sup>*Māš-te-el-uzu ša* <sup>amel</sup>[. . . . .]. The skins, stripped off, as many as the *rupšu* of the knife of . . . . belong to the . . . . .
25. . . . .-*n*, the sheep, regular offerings before Ishtar of Erech and before Nanā belong to . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *ameluTU-É*, i. e. *ērib bīti*, "he that enters the temple," a numerous and important order of priests who assisted in rituals of the public daily cults and at the great feasts. The Semitic reading was obtained from a passage in RANKE's *Business Documents of the First Dynasty*, 76, 35, Ibi-Šamaš *e-ri-ib bīti*; cf. the secular title *erib ekalli* = *girseḫū*, a chamberlain, MEISSNER, OLZ. 1922, 243.

<sup>2</sup> See below, l. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *uzu-ur* = *išdu*. Cf. the Sippar cult-tablet, V R. 61 V 10 and CLAY, BE. VIII 106, 6; *5 ur-uzu*, five legs (of mutton).

<sup>4</sup> Read probably *mu-ban-ni-Pl.*, cf. Obv. 22 and Rev. 20. *amelubannû* is the usual rendering of *ameluKAK*, but this tablet proves that *mubannû* is also possible.

<sup>5</sup> Here probably some figure is to be restored.

<sup>6</sup> A treasury or store-house, see l. 33 and ZA. III 146, 2.

<sup>7</sup> An order of priests engaged in performing sacrifices. See especially DA. 18, 20, *amelzabardibbû ina niḫê šarri išten imât*, "A *zabardibbû* will die while performing the sacrifices of some king."

<sup>8</sup> HOLMA, *Körperteile* 75, suggests that this anatomical term is the name of the "second stomach" of ruminating animals.

<sup>9</sup> Read *bappir*? See Rev. 12 + 30. The sign is actually written *BI-KgarA* on this tablet.

<sup>10</sup> *šag-iš* = *irru dāmu*, ZA. 33, 25, 29. Probably the pancreas.

<sup>11</sup> *ina šani-i*.

<sup>12</sup> *amel kišpi* = *amel āšipu* of ll. 6 and 17. *kišpu* is here regarded as a variant of *kišpu* and not as the word *kišpu*, "offering for the dead."

<sup>13</sup> *mašak bal-ti*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *šihū, šāḫū, šāḫū* = Heb. *šōḫ, šin*, HOLMA, *Körperteile* 135.

<sup>15</sup> Read *šn-ut(?)*-[*rêši*]. Cf. Rev. 21. *šn-ut* is probably an abbreviation for *šnt-rêši*.



26 = 2; 27 = 3; 28 = 4; 29 = 5.

30. Ten (?) legs and rumps for the king.

31 = 7; 32 = 8.

33. [?] *UH?* *šihirti u šêr TAR-HU-HU-e* for the *bit hilšu*.

34 = 10; 35 = 12; 36 = 14; 37—38 = 13 and 15 (?); 39 = 16; 40, cf. 18; 41 = 19; 42 = 20;

43 = 21; 44—47 . . . . .

#### REVERSE.

Line 4: cf. Obv. 29. Line 9 mentions the portions assigned to the *šangu* priest of the goddess Anunitum at Erech. This title of Ishtar as war-goddess is extremely rare at Erech and does not occur at all in the late texts found in great numbers there.<sup>1</sup> Line 27: *šêr šî-ši-tum*, a synonym of *ipn*, womb. See MUSS-ARNOLT, *Lexicon*, p. 1046 under *šilimtu* and *LUM* = *šîšîtum* in SCHEIL, *Le Vocabulaire HUM: hamāšu*, l. 57. On the phrase *šîšîtam arnu* in liver omens, see CT. 20, 6, 9 f.; 7, 19; BOISSIER, *Choix de Textes*, 92, 10. Lines 34—5 contain the phrase *a-na GAB-DIB-ti harê* which is obscure. Read *gabdibûti*? For *harû*, synonym of *giparu*, see PSBA. 1901, 120, 6.

## A SCHOLAR'S TABLET CONTAINING SYLLABARY A AND A LIST OF GODS.













(W-B. 9.)

This fragment from the lower middle section of a very large tablet contains on the Obverse a list of deities and on the Reverse the list of signs known as Syllabary A. The fragment was obtained by Mr. WELD-BLUNDELL at Bagdad in 1922 and is inventoried W-B. 9 in the Ashmolean Collection. It is the original of an Assur text published by SCHROEDER in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, No. 65. The Assur copy, however, inverts the two faces of the original, having Syl. A on the Obverse and the list of gods on the Reverse. Similar texts with explanations of the divine names are KAV. 63 and 62 (with omission of the Syllabary) and KAV. 46 and 47, five column texts containing the original list in Col. II, the Sumerian pronunciation in Col. I, an analysis of the ideograms in Col. III and identifications in Cols. IV and V. The entire list is edited by SCHROEDER in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 33, 123—147.

Of Syllabary A the text published here begins with *KAM* = Syl. A II 16 and contains fragments as far as *EZEN* about the 18th line of Syl. A VI. KAV. 65 carries portions of Syl. A from *GUD* = Syl. A IV 2 as far as *IL* = Syl. A 15 and continued in the break after *IL* to *BARA*, last sign on Syl. A, and then adds miscellaneous Sumerian and Semitic words. Early lists of Syl. A are also published by L. W. KING in CT. V 9—10. CT. V 9 contains all of Syl. A and continues with Syl. B<sup>1</sup>; see also the Hoffman Tablet in JSOR. III 66 ff., where Syl. B<sup>1</sup> follows Syl. A. The copies of Syl. A in CT. V belong to the Babylonian script of the late middle period, having great resemblance to the script of Shamash-shum-ukîn. SCHEIL, *Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar*, pp. 34—37 was able to reconstruct a large part of Syl. A from fragments which he assigned to the First Dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> Anunit of Erech occurs in a text of the Ur period, LÉGRAIN, *Le Temps des Rois d'Ur*, No. 333. It is possible that *Šarrat-šamê*, "Queen of heaven," is identical with Anunit in the texts of Erech; see THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels Accadiens*, 114, 14; 100, 16; 101, 6.


By combining all these sources most of the lacunae in the copy of Syl. A, now in the British Museum and published by THOMPSON in CT. XI 1—5, can be restored. Col. V is restored as follows:

1. . . . .		ki-sal-lu <sup>1</sup>
2. . . . .		i-gi-ta-al-lu <sup>2</sup>
3. . . . .		mu-šu
4. . . . .	»	»
5. . . . .		u-nu <sup>3</sup>
6. . . . .		[si]-is-su <sup>4</sup>
7. . . . .	»	»
8. . . . .	»	[u-ri-in]-nu
9. . . . .		[ú-ra-šu] <sup>5</sup>
10. . . . .	»	»
11. . . . .	»	»
12. . . . .		[šu-ri-du] <sup>6</sup>
13. . . . .	»	»
14. . . . .		[ni-in-nu] <sup>7</sup>
15. . . . .		»
16. [a-ag]		[ak-ku-u]
17. mi-[e]	»	»
18. mi-id (?)		akkû-a-a-ku <sup>8</sup>
19. i-ig		i-ku <sup>9</sup>
20. ga-al	»	»
21. gi-e-me <sup>10</sup>		gi-mu-u <sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> KAV. 65 Obv. II 5; CT. V 9 Rev. II 3.

<sup>2</sup> KAV. 65 II 6, but CT. V Rev. II 4 has a peculiar form of the element *RI* similar to *RI* in Esarhaddon's inscriptions. See AMIAUD et MICHINEAU, No. 27.

<sup>3</sup> BM. 34912, Obv. 17, has *u-ru-un-[nu?]*. KAV. repeats this sign five times, but it is omitted entirely on Sippar No. 503.

<sup>4</sup> Here CT. V, 9 R. II has the sign , a confusion which could not have arisen at any time before the middle period.

<sup>5</sup> Lines 9—11 are restored from K. 14049.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.* for ll. 12—13. KAV. has this sign thrice.

<sup>7</sup> See K. 14049 and W-B. 9 II 2. The late texts confused the sign *SAL+KU* with *SAL+TUG* and it was consequently named *NINNU* also. Unfortunately the Sumerian word for *SAL+KU* = *aġatu*, sister, remains unknown.

<sup>8</sup> This sign is omitted on the early text, but occurs in the late text, CT. V 9. For the reading *nid* (?) see CHRISTIAN, WZKM. 1911, p. 135.

<sup>9</sup> W-B. 9 has *SAL* before *IG*!

<sup>10</sup> This reading for *SAL* is proven correct by W-B. 9 and removes the doubt concerning the value *gene* for *SAL*. The line is omitted on CT. V 9.

22. gi-e-me		a-ma-at
23. a-ma		a-uu-u
24. da-ga-al	»	»
25. e-eš		gi-eš-pu-u
26. zi-ib		zi-ib-bu
27. ku-ur		ku-ú-rum
29. ša-ad	»	»
30. la-ad	»	»
31. ma-ad	»	»
32. gi-in (?)	»	»
33. . . . . .		si-lu-u
34. . . . . .	»	»
35. da-ar		[ku-ut-tu]
36. ha-aš	»	»
37. ku <sup>1</sup> -ud	»	»
38. si-il	»	»
39. bi-e		[ba-aṭ-tu]
&c.	&c.	&c.

Here follow 40—42, *BE*, thrice; 43—4, *KUG*; 45 *ŠAG* (*sa-a*) = *gi-šim-ma-ru*; 46 (?) (*pu-u*); 47—50 *DUMU* &c. The remaining signs in 51—65 and the end of Col. V are controlled by CT. V 9 Rev. III 3 (*DUMU-UŠ*)—10 (*KAR*), and partly by KAV. 65 Obv. III. Syl. A, Col. VI is now restored as follows:

1. (*bal*). 2. (*šul*). 3. (*šah*). 4. (*šubur*).

Lines 2—3—4 are based upon KAV. 65 where *three* distinct signs are given. The first of these signs is REC. 250, *DUN* and *ŠUL*. *šul* is the Sumerian word for *iṭlu*, mighty one, as I indicated in my *Sumerian Grammar* (1911) p. 243; DEIMEL in ZA. 23, 47 adduced the n. pr. *Šul-la* in CT. I 31 Rev. 4, and concluded that the name of the second king of Ur must be read *Šul-gi* and not *Dun-gi*. ZIMMERN, without mentioning the earlier solution of the correct reading *šul* = *iṭlu*, came to the same conclusion in his edition of the Lipit-Ištar hymn, *Berichte der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft*, 1916, No. 5 p. 31. But *dun* also means *iṭlu* or at any rate it has a similar sense. Note *tu-na* = *šal-tiš*, EBELING, KAR. 14 III 25 and Var. *dū-na*, IV R. 13b 24; cf. RA. XI, 146, 33 and *dū-na ag-ag-da* = *šitlutu*, THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels*, 70, 3. It is, therefore, by no means certain that *Dungi* is not the correct pronunciation, the probability being in favour of *Šulgi*. It is certain from KAV. 65 that the sign *ŠAH* differed from *DUN* and *ŠUBUR* as HROZNÝ, ZA. 19, 368 argued. KAV. has clearly *three* signs. 1. *DUN*, 2. (*ŠAH*) and 3. (*ŠUBUR*). CT. V 9 Rev. III does not distinguish *DUN* and *ŠAH*, nor do the early copies of Syl. B; see my *Grammatical Texts*, PBS. XII, Pl. 17, Col. I 7—9, and the Neo-

<sup>1</sup> So K. 7793, but *gu*(?)-*ud*, CT. XI 4, 27.



Babylonian copy of Syl. B, WEISSBACH, *Miscellen*, Pl. 11, 24—27. The early Sumerian script does not appear to have had a separate sign for *šaḥû*. In fact *dun*, to root, dig, *ḥirû*, seems to have been a Sumerian word for *šaḥû*, pig. But the differentiation of *DUN* into a new sign for *šaḥû* arose in the late Sumerian period, see the form  $\text{𒌦}$  in Ham. Code § 8. This new sign was finally replaced by *ŠUBUR* = *ardu*, *iršitu*. The confusion occurred in the late period. See the vocabulary in BEZOLD's *Allerlei versprengte Keilinschriften*, p. 117, *ŠAH* = *šaḥû*, *PEŠ* ( $\text{𒌦}$ ) = *šaḥû*, *ŠAH-giš-gi* = *šaḥû* . . . , *DUN-DUN* = *šaḥû* . . . , *DUN-ši-da* = *šaḥû* . . . Now the original Sumerian word for "pig" was *peš* and *dun* clearly indicates some other animal in the older texts. The BEZOLD vocabulary states that *DUN-DUN* is a certain kind of pig, and *ŠAH-giš-gi*, identical with the Sumerian *DUN-giš-gi* (cf. GENOUILLAG, TSA. 34 Rev. II; ALLOTTE DE LA FUYE, DP. 145 VI et p.), designates not "pig," but a kind of pig. *DUN-ši-da* occurs as *DUN-ši-ta* in SCHEIL, RA. 18, 65 VIII 33. For *DUN* probably "zebu," originally, see my *Archives of Drehem* p. 8, n. 6. The sign *DUN* probably took over the meaning *šaḥû* from *PEŠ*, because *dun* meant "to root" as well as *iṭlu* "strong one," and this gave rise to a new sign slightly different from *DUN*. It is certainly erroneous to translate *DUN* by *šaḥû* in classical Sumerian.

Syl. A VI continues thus. 5.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*galu*). 6.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*lugal*). 7.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*maḡ*). 8.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*ḡul*). 9.  $\text{𒌦}$   $\text{𒌦}$ . 10.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*urudu*).<sup>1</sup> 11.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*da?*). 12.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*aš*). 13.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*taš?*).<sup>2</sup> 14.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*ziz?*). 15.  $\text{𒌦}$   $\text{𒌦}$  (*il*). [16.  $\text{𒌦}$   $\text{𒌦}$  (*gur*)].<sup>3</sup> 17.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*gab*). [18.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*du-uḡ*)]. 19.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*ar-du*).<sup>4</sup> 20.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*ša ni-ta-ku kur-ra i-gub*).<sup>5</sup> 21.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*izunnu*).<sup>6</sup> 22.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*izunnu*).<sup>7</sup> 23.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*izunnu*).<sup>7</sup> 24.  $\text{𒌦}$  (*idimmu*). The remainder of Col. VI is complete (ll. 25—41) in CT. XI 5.

The Obverse of W-B. 9 is well nigh obliterated, but the text, which is still decipherable, may be restored from the Assur duplicates as follows:

W-B. 9, Obv. Col. II.

1. . . . . UŠ-LU	1. . . . .
2. <sup>d</sup> I-šar-li-su(?) <sup>8</sup>	2. Nergal.
3. <sup>d</sup> Né-u[nu-gal]	3. Nergal.
4. <sup>d</sup> Gir*-ra	4. Nergal.
5. <sup>d</sup> Gir*-ra-gal	5. Nergal.

<sup>1</sup> Entered but once in CT. V 9.

<sup>2</sup> See ZDMG. 72, 10. *Aš* occurs only once on CT. V 9.

<sup>3</sup> Here KAV. breaks away and CT. V 9 enters this sign only once.

<sup>4</sup> See the Assyrian copy of Syl. A VI in CT. XI 5.

<sup>5</sup> So CT. XI 5 VI 2, but Var. by ZIMMERN, ZA. 4, 394, *ša ni-tak-ku kur-a i-gub*.

<sup>6</sup> Var. ZA. 4, 394 (*ezennu*).

<sup>7</sup> This sign is entered only once in CT. V 9.

<sup>8</sup> This deity occurs also in CRAIG, RT. 59, 29 as *I-šar-li-[is]-su*, and means "Correct is his understanding."

A similar name is *ituIšar-ki-di-su* (for *kidit-su*), *Šurpu* 8, 22 (6). *Kiditu* is the name of part of the liver, and by metonymy it probably means "thought." See also *ituIšar-be-ri-su*, "Correct is his vision." The sign is *šar*, not *šir*, in all the texts which contain these names, and it seems necessary to assume a Prs. of the verb *ašāru*, *i-šar* as well as *išir*. See also UNGNAD, *Materialien zur altakkadischen Sprache*, p. 43. In KAV. 65 R. II 16—20 = ZA. 33, 130 other titles of Nergal compounded with *Išar* are <sup>d</sup>*Išar-mati-su*, <sup>d</sup>*Išar-āli-su* and <sup>d</sup>*Išar-pad-da*. The n. pr. *I-šar-ba-dan*, "Straight is the way," for *Išar-padan*, occurs in the period of Ur, see UNGNAD, *ibid.*, and the n. pr. <sup>d</sup>*I-šar-pad-da* in SCHEIL, *Nouvelles Notes* III in RT. XXXI. In these names *išar* is a verb, but the adjective *išaru*, "the just," was applied to Nergal, and hence a name like *I-šar-ki-in*, "The just is faithful," really means "Nergal is faithful."

6. <i>d</i> Ma-[ma]	6. Bêlit-ilāni.
7. <i>d</i> Ma-ma	7. Bêlit-ilāni.
8. <i>d</i> Ma-lik <sup>1</sup>	8. Nergal.
9. <i>d</i> Ur-ma-šum <sup>2</sup>	9. Ilbaba (?).
10. <i>d</i> La-az	10. Consort of Nergal.
11. <i>d</i> Šu-bu-la <sup>3</sup>	11. Nergal.
12. <i>d</i> I-šum	12. Nergal.

## Col. III.

1. [ <i>d</i> Ir-k]al-la <sup>4</sup>	1. Nergal.
2. <i>d</i> Ir-ni-na	2. Ishtar.
3. Lamma-ir-[ni]-na	3. . . . .
4. . . . .	4. . . . .
5. . . . .	5. . . . .
6. . . . .	6. . . . .
7. <i>d</i> Lugal-sub-be <sup>5</sup>	7. Ninurta.
8. <i>d</i> Nin-tag-[tug]	8. <i>marat d</i> Ann. <sup>6</sup>
9. <i>d</i> Ningišzida	9. Form of Tammuz.
10. <i>d</i> Nin-[sar(?)]	10. Attendant of Enlil. <sup>7</sup>
11. <i>d</i> Kal-kal <sup>8</sup>	11. Attendant of Enlil.
12. <i>d</i> Dun-gi <sup>9</sup>	12. Attendant of Enlil(?).

<sup>1</sup> So also KAV. 63 II 37. *itu* *Mālik* is a title of Nergal; cf. KAV. 42 I 32, *itu* *Mālik* and his consort *iat* *Ugurtu*.

<sup>2</sup> This deity is explained by *sukkal d* *Gula* and may possibly be the restoration of KAV. 63 II 38, explained by *d* *Ilbaba*.

<sup>3</sup> This is obviously the name to be restored in KAV. 63 II 39. For *Šubula* = *Nergal*, v. SBP. 84, 4.

<sup>4</sup> But KAV. 65 R. III 7, *al*, i. e. *Ir-kal(al)*.

<sup>5</sup> KAV. 63 III 40.

<sup>6</sup> This explanation of *d* *Tag-tug* in KAV. 65 III 41 proves that the original text must have contained the name of a feminine deity. The sign *NIN* has disappeared in the Assur text.

<sup>7</sup> CT. 24, 10, 16; SBP. 154, 35.

<sup>8</sup> *kal-kal* is rendered by *ilu dannu*, BL. 68, 10 and cf. SBH. 85, 34. *d* *Kal-kal-šāg-ga* [nī]-dū-gal *é-kur-ra* = [i]-lu? *da-an*-[nu *dam-ku pi-tu*]-ū *rahū é-kur-ra*, SBH. 134 I 29, and *d* *Kal*-[*kal*] = *pi-ū rahū é-kur-ra*, CT. 24, 9, 16 = 23, 9. This minor deity of the court of Enlil occurs in a ritual, Ebeling, KAR. 137, 8, and in the n. pr. *d* *Kal-kal-muballit*, CT. 8, 48 A 1, 8; cf. also Ranke, *Personal Names*, 201 and Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, 249, *sub* *Lamassu*. The title seems to have special connection with the moon-god as attendant of Enlil, BL. p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> Here and in the parallel passage KAV. 63 III 46 = 65 Rev. III 23 the deified king of Ur, Dungi, appears as a deity in the official lists, and is apparently assigned a place in the court of Enlil. The god with whom he was identified is unfortunately broken away in KAV. Bur-Sin survived, likewise, in the official pantheon, as one of the eight *gud-ba-lag-du* (?) of some god whose name is lost on CT. 25, 19, 17, but most likely the name *d* *Sin* is to be restored there.

## CYLINDER OF NABONIDUS.

(W—B. 5.)

A fine three column barrel cylinder (W—B. 5) gives a new account of the restoration of the temple of the Sun God at Sippar. The reconstruction of Ebarra at Sippar by Nabonidus is recorded in the following previously published inscriptions:

1. A similar two column barrel cylinder with duplicates, V Raw. 65, edited in my *Neu-babylonische Königsinschriften*, pp. 252—261, Nbn. No. 6.
2. A small barrel cylinder in two columns, PSBA. 1889, Jan. Pls. I, II = Nbn. No. 2.
3. A three column barrel cylinder, V Raw. 64, with variants from duplicates, = Nbn. No. 1. A new duplicate in VS. I No. 53 with five variant cylinders. This text includes accounts of Eḫulḫul at Harraṇ and Eulmash at Sippar. The section concerning Ebarra is Col. II 47—III 21.
4. A small two column cylinder from Marada, published by DHORME in RA. XI 105—117, refers briefly to this work in Col. I 33—36.
5. A long history of the work of Nabonidus on the temples of Shamash at Sippar and Ellasar, and of Anunit at Sippar-Anunit and Agade is restored from two cylinders and a prism by the writer in AJSL. 32, 102—117. The section on Ebarra of Sippar is Col. I 1—35.

The Oxford cylinder is the only three column cylinder exclusively devoted to the restoration of Ebarra of Sippar hitherto recovered. Like Nbn. No. 1 it was apparently written in the third year of Nabonidus, or at any rate the restoration was made in that year, i. e. 553 or 552 B.C. Like Nbn. No. 6 it contains an account of the consultation of the wise men and the search for the ancient foundation of Narâm-Sin, and it adds the interesting information that they actually found this record of Narâm-Sin.

### W—B. 5. Col. I.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. ò-nu-um An-num ù <sup>nu</sup>En-lil</li> <li>2. ša álu Sippar-(ki) iḫ-bu-ú e-di-eš-su</li> <li>3. a-da-an-šu-num ki-i-ni ik-šu-dam</li> <li>4. a-na e-bi-eš É-bàr-ra <sup>nu</sup>Šamaš be-el ra-be-ù</li> <li>5. i-iḫ-su-sa šu-bat-sa ri-eš-ti-tam</li> <li>6. ša zi-ku-ra-at gi-gu-na-šun</li> <li>7. ri-ši-šun e-li ša pa-ni ul-lu-ú</li> <li>8. lib-ba-šu-ni<sup>1</sup> ḫa-di-iš<sup>2</sup> ub-lam-ma</li> <li>9. <sup>nu</sup>Na-bi-um-na<sup>2</sup>-id šarru za-ni-nu</li> <li>10. mu-ṭi-ib lib-bi-šu-nu ib-bu-ú</li> <li>11. ri-é-a-am ka-an-šun</li> <li>12. muš-te<sup>2</sup>-ú áš-ra-a-ti ilāni rabāti</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. When Anu and Enlil</li> <li>2. commanded the restoration of the city Sippar,</li> <li>3. their punctual term arrived.</li> <li>4. To build Ebarra of Shamash, the great lord,</li> <li>5. they planned. As for its original abode,</li> <li>6. of the stage tower his dark chamber,</li> <li>7. to raise its top higher than before,</li> <li>8. their hearts impelled them joyfully,</li> <li>9. and Nabuna'id, the king, the caretaker,</li> <li>10. who maketh glad their hearts, they named.</li> <li>11. The meek shepherd,</li> <li>12. solicitous of the sacred places of the great gods,</li> </ol> |
|--|---|

<sup>1</sup> Sie! for šu-nu.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the parallel passage NBK. 236 II 5 is probably ḫa-di-iš also. Bezold in PSBA. 1889, Pl. IV gave SU instead of iš.



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 13. <i>šakkanakku it-bi-šu</i>  | 13. the skillful governor,   |
| 14. <i>ša a-na te-im ilāni pu-tuk-ku<sup>1</sup></i>                                      | 14. who attendeth upon the counsel of the gods,                                  |
| 15. <i>za-ni-in É-sag-ila ù É-zi-da</i>   | 15. caretaker of Esagila and Ezida,  |
| 16. <i>mu-ud-di-iš eš-ri-e-ti ilāni ù Ištārāti</i>  | 16. restorer of the sacred places of gods and goddesses,                         |
| 17. <i>mu-daḥ-ḫi-id sa-at-tuk-ku</i>  | 17. who maketh abundant the regular offerings,                                   |
| 18. <i>mu-šar-ri-iḫ ni-id-bi-e</i>  | 18. and multiplieth the freewill offerings,                                      |
| 19. <i>mar Na-bi-um-ba-la-at-su-ik-bi</i>   | 19. son of Nabu-balatsu-ikbi,  |
| 20. <i>ru-bu-ú e-im-ga a-na-ku</i>  | 20. the wise prince am I.  |
| 21. <i>[e-nu-ma <sup>itu</sup>Marduk bēlu rabû be-lu-ut] māti(?) -šu i-ki-pa-an-ni(?)</i> | 21. [When Marduk, the great lord,] entrusted unto me the lordship of his land    |
| 22. <i>[ù mar ru-bi-e] <sup>itu</sup>Na-bi-um</i>   | 22. and the son of the prince, Nabu,   |
| 23. <i>[ . . . . . n-šar]-ba-an-ni</i>  | 23. with . . . . . enlarged me.  |
| 24—41. . . . .  | 24—41. . . . .   |
| 42. . . . . <i>ḫi-di-tim</i>  | 42. . . . . joy.   |
| 43. . . . . <i>su-pi-e-šu-un</i>  | 43. . . . . their prayers.   |
| 44. . . . . <i>GAL ga-ga-da-a</i>   | 44. . . . . steadfastly  |
| 45. . . . . <i>mu-ga-ḫu<sup>2</sup>-šu-nu-ti</i>  | 45. . . . . I have waited upon them.   |
| 46. <i>ì-nu-šu É-bār-ra ki-iš-ši<sup>3</sup> ra-aš-bu</i>                                 | 46. At that time Ebarra, the brilliant habitation,                               |
| 47. <i>šu-ba-at <sup>itu</sup>Šamši ù <sup>uat</sup>Aja</i>                               | 47. abode of Shamash and Aja,  |
| 48. <i>ša i-na ki-ri-ib Sippar-(ki)</i>   | 48. which is in Sippar,  |
| 49. <i>ša šarru ma-ḥar i-pu-šu-ma ul-la-a ri-e-ši-šu</i>                                  | 49. which a former king built and whose upper parts he raised up,                |
| 50. <i>45(?) -kam šanāti la im-la-ma i-ḫu-pu i-ga-ru-šu</i>                               | 50. 45(?) years <sup>4</sup> were not yet completed, but its walls were decayed. |
| 51. <i>ra-am-ku-tim<sup>5</sup> É-bār-ra i-ta-mu-nim</i>                                  | 51. The <i>ramku</i> -priests of Ebarra spoke:                                   |
| 52. <i>i-ḫu-pu bitu</i>   | 52. "The temple has fallen to ruins"   |
| 53. <i>ki-bi-it-su-nu la a-ki-ḫ</i>   | 53. But their words, I trusted not.  |
| 54. <i>ma-? a-a-ra-ni ni-ki-it-ti</i>   | 54. . . . . me terror.   |
| 55. <i>u-du<sup>7</sup>u ni . . . Tin-tir-(ki) ù Bār-sip-(ki)</i>                         | 55. The sages . . of Babylon and Barsippa,                                       |
| 56. <i>im-ḫu-tu mu-di-e ši-ḫ-ri</i>   | 56. The wise ones trained in execution,  |
| 57. <i>a-na ki-ri-ib É-bār-ra ú-?-?-ma</i>  | 57. unto Ebarra I . . . . .  |
| 58. <i>u-pa- . . . . .</i>  | 58. and I . . . . .  |
| 59. <i>bitu šu-a-ti i-ga-ru-šu ḫu-up-pu-ma</i>  | 59. Of that temple the walls were fallen.  |
| 60. <i>pu-ut-tu-ru ri-ki-is bābāni</i>  | 60. Burst were all of the gates,   |

<sup>1</sup> See also the Maradda cylinder of Nabonidus, RA. XI 109, 21.

<sup>2</sup> *mûgû*, *mûkû*, from *waḫû*, adjective formed on the analogy of *mâdû* and then declined as a verb. Cf. *Tammuz and Ishtar*, n. 2 (?).

<sup>3</sup> Text AD! Cf. RA. XI 111 n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> See VAB. IV 225 n. 3. It is most unfortunate to find this figure almost illegible here, for it would indicate the year in which the cylinder was written. If 45 be correct the inscription dates from the same year as Nbn. No. 1, i. e. the 3d year of Nabonidus.

<sup>5</sup> The adjectival plural of *ramku* proves that this word is really an adjective, "the washed." See for *ramkûti*, VAB. IV 216, 9 and CLAY, *Miscel.* 45 II 25.

## Col. II.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>gušur zu-lu-li-šu šu-ul-ḫu-tu</i>   | 1. (and) the beams of its roof were torn assunder.                                  |
| 2. <i>a-zu-u ki-ri-ib biti</i>  | 2. The wise men looked into the interior  |
| 3. <i>ip-pal-su-ma u-ša-am-lu-in-ni pu-lu-us-tam</i>                              | 3. of the temple and caused me to observe fully.                                    |
| 4. <i>iš-tu biti šu-a-ti</i>  | 4. From that temple   |
| 5. <i>ga-at <sup>itu</sup>Šamaš <sup>u</sup> <sup>u</sup>atAja iṣ-ba-tu-ma</i>    | 5. the hands of Shamash and Aja they seized,  |
| 6. <i>i-na ki-iṣ-ṣi da-am-ḫu</i>  | 6. and in a holy chamber,   |
| 7. <i>aš-ri šu-us-su-mu u-še-ši-bu</i>  | 7. a place made fit for them they caused them to dwell. <sup>1</sup>                |
| 8. <i>a-ta-mi . . . . . ni-ši ma-a-ti</i>   | 8. I spoke to the . . . . . of the people of the land (saying),                     |
| 9. <i>mi-na-a i-ši-ir<sup>2</sup>-šum-ma i-ḫu-up-ma</i>                           | 9. "What has cast it down that it has fallen to ruin?"                              |
| 10. <i>an-ni-tu i-ta-mu-nim</i>   | 10. This they said:   |
| 11. <i>ul bu<sup>2</sup>-u-a a-šar-šu</i>   | 11. "Its place has not been found.  |
| 12. <i>e-li šu-ub-ti-šū kit-ti ul e-pu-uš-ma e-ni<br/>ga-ga-ar-šu</i>             | 12. He <sup>3</sup> built it not upon its sure resting place and its earth shifted. |
| 13. <i><sup>itu</sup>Šamaš be-el ra-be-ū</i>                                      | 13. Shamash, the great lord,  |
| 14. <i>e-bi-eš É-bār-ra u-ḫa-a ri-eš-ka</i>                                       | 14. hath waited for thee to build Ebarra.   |
| 15. <i>ši-bi-ir-šu bu-un-ni-i</i>   | 15. To beautify its construction,   |
| 16. <i>i-na aš-ri-šu ki-nim e-bi-eš-su</i>  | 16. to build it in its right place  |
| 17. <i>u-ša-ad-gi-il pa-ni-ku</i>   | 17. he hath entrusted unto thee."   |
| 18. <i>a-na da-ki-e É-bār-ra libbi pa-li-iḫ</i>                                   | 18. To demolish Ebarra (my) heart feared,   |
| 19. <i>ra-ša-a-ku ni-ki-it-ti</i>   | 19. and I had anxiety.  |
| 20. <i>i-na ma-ḫā-al mu-ši-im</i>   | 20. Upon the bed at night   |
| 21. <i>ul u-ḫa-at-ta-a ši-it-tim ṭa-ab-tim</i>                                    | 21. I accomplished not sweet sleep.   |
| 22. <i>aš-ši ḫa-[ta-a-a u-sal-la]-a-a</i>   | 22. I lifted up my hand and prayed  |
| 23. <i><sup>itu</sup>Enlil <sup>itu</sup>Sin <sup>itu</sup>Marduk</i>             | 23. to Enlil, Sin and Marduk,   |
| 24. <i>[aš-šum] e-bi-[eš] É-bār-ra</i>  | 24. concerning the building of Ebarra.  |
| 25. <i>[an-na ša-lim-ti <sup>itu</sup>Šamaš <sup>u</sup> <sup>itu</sup>Ramman</i> | 25. [A favorable answer] Shamash and Ramman   |
| 26. <i>[u-ša-aš-ki-nu ina ter-ti-ia] aš-te-e-ma</i>                               | 26. [caused to be made in my divination].   |
| 27. . . . . <i><sup>itu</sup>Ramman</i>   | I sought<br>27. and . . . . . Shamash and Ramman                                    |
| 28—41. . . . .  | 28—41. . . . .  |
| 42. . . . . <i>ši-ik-ku</i>   | 42. . . . .   |
| 43. <i>iš-tu<sup>4</sup> pa-ni ga-ga-ri-im</i>                                    | 43. From the surface of the ground  |
| 44. <i>18 ammat u-ša-ab-bi-lu-ma</i>  | 44. they descended 18 eubits  |
| 45. <i>te-me-en la-bi-ri-im</i>   | 45. and the ancient foundation record   |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. VAB. IV 254, 30—31 and 224, 54—5.<sup>2</sup> The root *wašāru*, fall prostrate, has also an active meaning, "to overthrow," and is here treated as a 7<sup>th</sup> verb. See PSBA. 1910, 123 end, *ašāru*, Syn. of *saḫāpu*.<sup>3</sup> I. e. Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>4</sup> Text *TU-LŠ!*

46. *ša Na-ra-am-<sup>itu</sup>Sin šarri ma-ḥar*  
 47. *ap-pa-li-is-ma*  
 48. *ṭub-bi ḥuraši abanukni ù aban<sup>u</sup>santi*  
 49. *ša e-bi-eš É-bàr-ra a-nu-ur-ma*  
 50. *a-šar-šu-nu la ú-na-ak-ki-ir-ma*  
 51. *ú-te-ir áš-ru-uš-šu*  
 52. *ši-ṭi-ir šu-mi-ia it-ti-šu-un*  
 53. *u-ki-in a-na ša-a-ti*  
 54. *e-li te-im-mi-en-ni-šu la-bi-ri*  
 55. *ubana a-na la a-ši-e ù la e-ri-bi*  
 56. *pu-lu-uk-ka-šu lu-ú ú-ki-in*  
 57. *mi-im-ma ḥi-ši-ih-tum e-bi-eš biti šu-a-tū*  
 58. *la ak-la-am-ma ú-še-ri-ib ki-ri-ib-šu*  
 59. *ša šarru ma-ḥar i-na gušur gišimmari*  
 60. *ib-nu-ú zu-lu-ul-šu*  
 61. *<sup>isu</sup>erinê da-an-nu-ti*

46. of Narâm-Sin, a former king,  
 47. I beheld.  
 48. The tablets of gold, lapis lazuli and carnelian  
 49. concerning the building of Ebarra I read,  
 50. and I changed not their place,  
 51. but I restored it to *its*<sup>1</sup> place.  
 52. The inscription of my name with them  
 53. I fixed forever.  
 54. Upon its ancient foundation  
 55. not a finger breadth less or more<sup>2</sup>  
 56. verily I fixed its foundation plan.  
 57. Anything necessary for the building of that  
 temple  
 58. I withheld not, but I caused to be brought  
 into it.  
 59. Where a former king with beams of palm  
 wood  
 60. had built its roof,  
 61. mighty cedars

## Col. III.

1. *iš-tu La-ab-nu-nu*  
 2. *ḫišti el-li-ti*  
 3. *u-bi-il-lam-ma*  
 4. *1050<sup>3</sup> <sup>isu</sup>erini a-na e-bi-eš É-bàr-ra*  
 5. *lu-ú u-še-ri-ib*  
 6. *a-na ši-i-bi-šu <sup>isu</sup>erinê ellāti aš-tak-ka-an*  
 7. *<sup>isu</sup>tallu <sup>isu</sup>ḫettu <sup>isu</sup>ka-na-ku*  
 8. *<sup>isu</sup>sikkur šakili<sup>4</sup> ša <sup>isu</sup>erinê el-lu-tim*  
 9. *e-ma bābāni ù bitāti ú-šar-ši-id*  
 10. *ki-ma ša iš-tu šadi-i <sup>isu</sup>erini*  
 11. *<sup>itu</sup>Šamaš bēlu šur-bu-ú i-na na-pa-ḥi-šu*  
 12. *i-na <sup>isu</sup>erini da-an-nu-tu*  
 13. *e-li-šu zu-lu-lu ab-ni*  
 14. *a-šar mu-ša-bi-šu kima ḫišti ḥa-šur*  
 15. *i-ri-iš-su uš-ṭi-ib*  
 16. *<sup>isu</sup>gišimmari(?) <sup>isu</sup>erinê u <sup>isu</sup>meskanni*

1. from Lebanon  
 2. the clean forest  
 3. I brought and  
 4. 1050 cedars for building Ebarra  
 5. I caused to enter.  
 6. I placed clean cedars for its ceiling.  
 7. The door valves, the lintels, the door posts,  
 8. the pins of the sliding bar of clean cedars  
 9. in the gates and buildings I caused to be  
 established.  
 10. As where from the cedar mountains  
 11. Shamash, the exalted lord, arises,  
 12. with mighty cedars  
 13. I built a roof over it.  
 14. Of its dwelling place like a cedar *ḥa-šur*-  
 forest  
 15. I made sweet its odor.  
 16. Palms(?), cedars and the wood of Magan,

<sup>1</sup> Sic! for "their."<sup>2</sup> Cf. VAB. IV 226, 65.<sup>3</sup> The text here agrees with VAB. IV 256, 3, where *ibid.*, 226 III 1 has 5000!<sup>4</sup> Written *sag-gul lál* which is rendered by *sikkur šakili*, MEISSNER, ATU. I 28, 28 with Var. *šu-lal. sikkuru* means the pin or pins of a lock which fall into the holes of the sliding bar (*šakilu* = *mēdilu*).



- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 17. <i>e-ma bābāni-šu ù-sar-ši-id</i>                               | 17. in its gates I caused to be established.                              |
| 18. <i>si-ḫi-ir-ti bītāti</i>                                       | 18. Of the group of buildings round about                                 |
| 19. <i>i-na <sup>is</sup>ušuhê<sup>1</sup> pa-ag-lu-tim</i>         | 19. with huge <i>ašuhū</i> -woods   |
| 20. <i>zu-lu-ul-ši-na ab-ni</i>                                     | 20. I built their roofs.  |
| 21. <i>aš-šum ug-ga-tū ar-ra-tim ù ḫi-ti-ti</i>                     | 21. In order not to cause wrath, curse and sin                            |
| 22. <i>ki-ir-ba-šū la šu-ub-ši-i</i>                                | 22. within it;  |
| 23. <i>i-na pi-i um-ma-na-a-ti e-bi-eš šip-ri-šu</i>                | 23. in the mouth of the craftsmen, the builders of its construction       |
| 24. <i>la ša-ka-nim-ma</i>  | 24. . . . . <sup>2</sup> not to place;                                    |
| 25. <i>ik-ri-ib da-mi-ik-tim</i>                                    | 25. but to place blessing for   |
| 26. <i>i-na pi-i-ši-na ša-ka-na-am</i>                              | 26. goodness in their mouths;   |
| 27. <i>akalê kurunnu šérê ù karanu du-úh-ḫu-du</i>                  | 27. to make plentiful bread, sesame-wine, meat and wine;                  |
| 28. <i>gi-da-aš-ši šu-nu-ti piš-ša-tam šamnu el-lu</i>              | 28. of those <i>gidaššu</i> <sup>3</sup> with ointment and pure oil       |
| 29. <i>zu-mur-šū-un u-daḫ-ḫi-id nar-ki-ti šamni ṭābi</i>            | 29. their bodies I made to drip; with an unguent <sup>4</sup> of fine oil |
| 30. <i>mu-uh-ḫa-šū-nu ú-ša-aš-ki</i>                                | 30. I caused their skulls to be soaked.                                   |
| 31. . . . . <i>iš lib-ba-šū-nu uš-pār-di</i>                        | 31. . . . . their hearts I made happy.                                    |
| 32. [ . . . . . <i>li</i> ]- <i>ib-ba-šū-nu-ma</i>                  | 32. . . . .   |
| 33. . . . . <i>a-ri</i>   | 33. . . . .   |
| 34. . . . . <i>ru-uš-šu</i>   | 34. . . . .   |
| 35. . . . . <i>-an-ni-ma</i>  | 35. . . . .   |
| 36. . . . . <i>da-mi-ik</i>   | 36. . . . .   |
| 37. . . . . <i>ma . . . šarru i-na šarrāni</i>                      | 37. . . . .   |
| 38. . . . . <i>ia-a-ti ma-la ib-nu-ú</i>                            | 38. . . . .   |
| 39. . . . . <i>a-na <sup>im</sup>Šamaš ù <sup>iat</sup>Aja</i>      | 39. . . . .   |
| 40. . . . . <i>a ašsat . . . . e-pu-šu</i>                          | 40. . . . .   |
| 41. <i>[ḫa-di?]-iš ab-ni-šu-ma</i>                                  | 41. <i>gladly</i> I built it.   |
| 42. <i>ú-ša-ak-li-il ši-bi-ir-šu</i>                                | 42. Its work I caused to be completed.                                    |
| 43. <i><sup>im</sup>Šamaš bélu rabū ša šami-e ù irši-tim</i>        | 43. O Shamash, great lord of heaven and earth,                            |
| 44. <i>a-na biti šu-a-ti</i>  | 44. when into this temple   |
| 45. <i>ḫa-di-iš i-na e-ri-bi-ka</i>                                 | 45. with gladness thou enterest,  |
| 46. <i>šu-bat-ka el-li-ti ri-eš-ti-tam</i>                          | 46. when thy beautiful original dwelling,                                 |
| 47. <i>ṭa-bi-iš i-na ra-mi-e-ka</i>                                 | 47. thou occupiest graciously,  |
| 48. <i>a-na <sup>im</sup>Nabu-na-<sup>2</sup>-id šarru za-ni-nu</i> | 48. upon Nabonidus, the king, the caretaker,                              |
| 49. <i>ik-ri-bi da-mi-ik-tū ku-ur-bu</i>                            | 49. bestow a blessing of grace;   |
| 50. <i>šu-ur-ka-am-ma balat amê ru-ḫu-ti</i>                        | 50. grant him life unto far away days.                                    |
| 51. <i>lu-šir-ka a-na dāra-tim</i>                                  | 51. May he be subservient unto thee forever.                              |

<sup>1</sup> Here written *gišū* simply, as in Gudea, Cyl. A 15, 32. The ordinary ideogram is *Ú-KU*. See for *ašuhū*, VAB. IV 256, 3 and MEISSNER, MVAG. 1912, No. 2, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a line containing the object of *šakānu* has dropped out before l. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *gidaššu* is apparently a synonym of *ummānu*, craftsman, and a loan-word. Or read *gandaššu*?

<sup>4</sup> *narḫū*, from *raḫū*, variant root of *raḫāḫū*.

52. <i>id-na be-lu-tim šal-mat ga-ga-du</i>	52. Give unto him lordship over the dark-headed peoples,
53. <i>lu ka-a-am na-gab-šu-un</i>	53. yea, verily all of them.
54. <sup>11a</sup> <i>Aja hi-ir-ti na-ra-[am]-ta-ka</i>	54. May Aja thy beloved spouse
55. <i>li-ta-mi-ka da-mi-iḫ-tim</i>	55. speak unto thee of blessings.
56. <i>i-na di-nim ñ bi-ri</i>	56. In judgment and oracle
57. <i>e-ma ka-ti a-na-aš-šu-ka</i>	57. when I raise my hand unto thee,
58. <i>i-ša-ri-iš ap-la-an-ni</i>	58. answer thou me rightly.
59. <i>ma-ḫa-ir</i> <sup>11b</sup> <i>Marduk šar šamē ñ irši-tim</i>	59. Before Marduk, king of heaven and earth,
60. <i>ka-iā-na šu-un-gi-ra</i>	60. steadfastly cause to be acceptable
61. <i>ep-še-tu-ú-a</i>	61. my deeds.

## INSCRIBED BRICK OF NEBUCHADNEZAR.

(W—B. 1922, 192.)

A three column brick inscription, duplicate of the similar inscription upon a brick of Nebuchadnezzar in the Manchester Library. The previously known copy of this text which refers to the restoration of Ebarra at Sippar and the construction of a well for the temple is badly damaged. This duplicate of the Ashmolean Collection is also defective, but it carries the lines which complete the text. For the Manchester inscription see the writer's *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften* p. 190, No. 24. In Col. II 4 of my previous edition the restoration should be *ba-la-tu* [*ñ-mi ru-ku-ti*], and in l. 8 *el-li-ti*, not *širtim*. W—B. 192 omits *ka* after *ki-be-ti*. Col. III of the Manchester text is thus restored from the duplicate.

1. <i>ša la šu-be-e-lam</i>	2. <i>ša ni-šē ra-ap-ša-a-ti</i>	3. <i>ša-al-ma-at</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ga-ga-dam</i>
4. <i>e-ma a-šu-ni</i>	5. <i>ša-ru-ru-ú-ka</i>	6. ? ? <i>UŠ ri-ma-at-si-na</i>
7. <i>a-na ñ-un dār ú-ti</i>		

## INSCRIBED BRICK OF AŠUR-EṬIL-ILANI.

(W—B. 1922, 190.) 12 29

This inscription preserved upon the edge of a brick from Dilbat is the only historical text hitherto recovered from the reign of Ašureṭililāni, son and successor of Ašurbanipal, which was written in Babylonia. Several inscribed bricks from Nimrud carry a short text in seven lines which mention the construction of a temple to Nebo at Kalḫu by this king. See STRECK, *Assurbanipal* I pp. 199—207 and II 330. It is interesting to learn that the king, whose history is still obscure, selected the long neglected temple of Urašā at Dilbat for his restorations. This temple received no attention from the later kings of Babylonia who rebuilt most of the old temples in Sumer and Accad.

<sup>1</sup> But W—B. 192 has *ša-la-la*. The text is clearly written and must be explained as a variant of *šalmatu*.

1. *a-na* <sup>itu</sup>*Urašā* *bēli šîri ašarid ilāni rabāti É-i-be-itu* <sup>itu</sup>*A-num* *parakku ra-aš-bu bēlu rabu-u bēli-šu*  
*itu* *Ašur-eṭilli-ilāni šar mat Aššur-(ki)*
2. *mu-ud-diš* *parakki ilāni rabāti (rabāti) mar* <sup>itu</sup>*Ašur-bān-apli šar mat Aššur-(ki)* *re'i šal-mat*  
*kaḳḳadi É-i-be-itu* <sup>itu</sup>*A-num*<sup>1</sup> *aš-ri el-lu*
3. *ša ki-rib Dil-bat-(ki) šu-bat* <sup>itu</sup>*Urašā u* <sup>itat</sup>*Nin-é-gal*<sup>2</sup> *uš-šiš. a-gur-ru pi-ti-iḳ šêri eš-šiš ib-ni-ma*  
*išid kalak-ki-šu*
4. *ki-i pi-i la-bi-ri-im-ma ú-ša-[. . . .]* *a-na du-ur á-me zu-mur kalakki šuatu kima* <sup>nār</sup>*Idiglat*  
*u nāri*<sup>3</sup> *ub-bi-ib-ma*
5. *a-na nap-ta-nu ilāni rabāti u-kin a-?? ŠÛ-A<sup>Pl</sup>-šu-nu-ti iḳbi-ma a-na nap-ta-nu uš-taḳ-ma-tu*<sup>4</sup>  
*á-mi-šam ana* <sup>itu</sup>*Nabu*
6. <sup>itu</sup>*Marduk* <sup>itu</sup>*Urašā u* <sup>itat</sup>*Nin-é-gal a-ši-bu ki-rib biti šuatu damiḳ-tim* <sup>itu</sup>*Ašur-eṭilli-ilāni*<sup>5</sup> *šarri*  
*mi-gir-šu-un li-iḳ-bu-u li-ri-ik palā-šu*

1. To Urašā, far-famed lord, chief of the great gods, E-ibe-Anum, the glittering shrine of the great lord, his lord, Ašureṭililāni, the king of Assyria,
2. renewer of the shrines of the great gods, son of Ašurbanipal, king of Assyria, shepherd of the dark-headed ones, E-ibe-Anum, the pure place,
3. which is in the midst of Dilbat, abode of Urašā and Ninegal, he made new. With burnt brick the handi-work of the plain he built it anew, and the foundation of its cellar
4. as of old he . . . . . unto eternal days. The whole<sup>6</sup> of that cellar he made clean as the Tigris and *The River*,
5. and for the table of the great gods he established it. *These* . . . . . he *commanded*, and they bring (them) quickly for the table. Daily unto Nebo,
6. Marduk, Urašā and Ninegal, who dwell in that temple, may they speak for blessings on Ašureṭililāni, the king, their favorite. May his reign be long.

<sup>1</sup> This is the earliest and most authentic writing of the name of the temple of Urašā and Ninegal at Dilbat. The word is written *É-in-bi-ituAnum* in PEISER, *Aktenstücke* II 9 (time of Nabonidus); VIII 1; IX 2 (time of Darius). The latter form of the name is therefore a late corruption. See BL. 134; ZIMMERN, K-L. 102, 17; *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* (PBS. X) 167, 16.

<sup>2</sup> For the goddess Ninegal, an underworld deity, see the writer's note in BE. 31, p. 17. Lagamal, a goddess of Dilbat, is not identical with Ninegal, consort of Urašā. Lagamal is also an underworld deity (see SCHEIL, RA. 13, 169) and a Semitic title of Ninegal, but the two deities are distinct at Dilbat; see SCHROEDER, KAV. 46 I 3—5; 63 I 37—39 and especially RA. 14, 172, 7.

<sup>3</sup> "*The river*," i. e. the Euphrates.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. [*ana Esagila*]*n Ezida uštaḳmaḫu irišu ṭābūtu*, "The caused to be brought quickly sweet incense unto Esagila and Ezida, SBH. 146, 40. See also SBP. 86, 30—1, *bur-zi sar-ra = naptan šaḳū ana šuḫmuḫu*, "To bring quickly the lofty table."

<sup>5</sup> Written *AN-DIŠ*. Cf. *Bāb-DIŠ-(ki) = Bāb-ili*, BM. 46537, Colophon. See HINKE, *A New Boundary Stone*, p. 10. But here *AN* precedes *DIŠ*, and it is more plausible to suppose that *DIŠ* is an error for *ME* sign of the plural.

<sup>6</sup> For *zumru*, body, employed in the sense of "the thing itself," "the whole object," cf. *ilāni ina zumri ummāni-ia ittesū*, "The gods will be far from my army," BOISSIER, DA. 6, 2; *ilāni ina zumri māli iḳab-bu-su*, FOSSEY, *Babyloniaca* V 22, 197, 24, 202; 96, 88.



# HYMN TO NIDABA, THE GRAIN GODDESS.

(W—B. 186.)

This text is written upon a large thin tablet, in an extremely difficult script of the period of Samsuiluna. The Reverse is weather worn and seriously defaced. The total number of lines is 119, but only the Obverse is sufficiently well preserved to be translated. Various aspects of the grain goddess are referred to in the poem, emphasis being laid upon her character as goddess of grain and irrigation; she is especially described as a virgin goddess, daughter of Enlil and patroness of lustration rituals. A somewhat similar but shorter Sumerian hymn to Nidaba is published by ZIMMERN in his *Sumerische Kultlieder*, No. 65. W—B. 186 is the only important hymn to Nidaba which has been translated. For an outline of her character, see B. L., 141; *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 148—158. The deity *Hani* with whom she is frequently connected in theological texts is also mentioned in Col. IV 9. Owing to the defective condition of the text, the setting of the most interesting section, Col. I 23—31, must remain obscure. These lines are similar to the Sumerian poem on the origins of civilisation translated in *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 136—146; the first 24 lines of that poem described the earth before the creation of the grain goddess, when living creatures had not been created, and Tagtug, the founder of organized society, had not yet appeared. These two texts assume that the earth had been created ages before the gods created mankind and made it habitable. After the creation of mankind there followed according to other Sumerian texts a long Utopian Age.

## W—B. 186, Obv. I. Col. I.

8. <i>ki gi-dub-ba-ta šag-dúg-dúg me-en</i>	8. In the place of writing thou rejoicest.
9. <i>šag <sup>a</sup>En-lil-lá dug-dug-gi me-en</i>	9. The heart of Enlil thou makest glad.
10. <i>nin-mu<sup>1</sup> E-kur-ra kùr-bi za-e me-en</i>	10. O my lady, of Ekur thou art the food,
11. <i>E-an-na-ka kùr-bi me-en</i>	11. of Eanna thou art the food.
12. <i>E-kur é <sup>a</sup>En-lil-li bur-bi za-e me-en</i>	12. Of Ekur, temple of Enlil, thou art the table.
13. <i>dìngir-gal-gal-e-ne zi-a-a<sup>2</sup>-bi me-en</i>	13. Of the great gods she that pacifies the soul art thou.
14. <i>nin-mu ki-gar-ra <sup>a</sup>En-lil-lá me-en</i>	14. O my lady, thou art she that causes the (heart) of Enlil to return to its place. <sup>3</sup>
15. <i><sup>a</sup>Nidab-bi me-en gar-ta dirig-bi me-en</i>	15. Thou art that Nidaba; she who is all powerful to reconcile, art thou.
16. <i><sup>a</sup>Nidaba nam-lugal suguš-bi gi-na me-en</i>	16. O Nidaba, thou art she who establishes the foundations of kingship.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RA. 7, 107 II 3.

<sup>2</sup> *munūhat napistī*; cf. CT. 17, 22, 155.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CT. 16, 6, 231.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 17. . . . . na MIR-sur gar-ra<br>me-en   | 17. . . . .  |
| 18. <sup>d</sup> Nidaba suġ-tub-tub <sup>1</sup> sag-bi <sup>d</sup> En-lil lá | 18. Nidaba, the adornment in the presence of Enlil,  |
| 19. . . . . dingir-ri-e-ne   | 19. the . . . . . of the gods,   |
| 20. . . . . dingir nu-tub-ba   | 20. . . . . whom a god has not taken in marriage(?).   |
| 21. . . . . <sup>d</sup> En-lil-lá . . . . .                                   | 21. . . . . Enlil . . . . .  |
| 22. <sup>d</sup> Nidaba . . . . . GAR . . . . . za-a                           | 22. Nidaba . . . . .   |
| 23. galu . . . . . gâ uru-ki nu-dû-dû  | 23. Man was <i>not created</i> , a city was not built.   |
| 24. é gal nu(?) dâ-e lugal nu-il-li  | 24. A palace was not built, nor a king enthroned. <sup>2</sup>   |
| 25. . . . . dingir-ri-e-ne-ge si-nu-si-e <sup>3</sup>                          | 25. The (temples?) of the gods had not been erected.   |
| 26. <sup>d</sup> Nidaba ki-nu-te-a-za  | 26. And thou, Nidaba, <sup>4</sup> hadst not yet <i>sprung up</i> upon the earth.  |
| 27. târ nu-dû umaš nu-gâ-gâ  | 27. Sheep-folds had not been built, cattle-stalls not made.  |
| 28. sib-be gi-di-da sag-nu-mu-un-ib-kuš-ù                                      | 28. The shepherd played not soothing melodies on the <i>lute</i> . <sup>5</sup>  |
| 29. sib-ra nîn-zi-zi <sup>6</sup> nu-mâ-mal šu-luġ-ga-bi<br>šu-nu-bi           | 29. Unto the shepherd (Tammuz) lamentations for peace were not made, rituals of atonement were not said to him. <sup>7</sup> |
| 30. sib-tûr-ra ga-ni <sup>8</sup> -ib-dûl-dûl duk-šika ga-nu-<br>dûb           | 30. For the shepherd boy milk was not . . . ; in the earthen bowl milk was poured not.                                       |
| 31. sag-bi-tu ġâ-TÚG-IR(?) nu-mu-un-è-a  | 31. Therefrom . . . . . was not . . . . .  |
| 32. . . . . la dingir-ri-e-ne šu-ba-ni-<br>ib-zur                              | 32. <i>But now</i> the gods receive sacrifices.  |
| 33. <sup>d</sup> Nidaba nîn eri gar-gar-ra nîn gû-zal si-di<br>me-en           | 33. Nidaba, queen that builds cities, queen that ensures happiness, art thou.  |

<sup>1</sup> For *tub* = *taḫānu*, v. CT. 12, 50 Rev. 10, *tu-ub* = *ta-[ḫa-nu]* and l. 17, *suġ-tub-tub* = [*tiknu*]. The verb *taḫānu* is the cognate of Arabic *taḫana*, piel *taḫḫan*, to water with slimy water and also to make well. Originally the verb means "pour out," then "smelt," mould metal objects. Note that *ina ramāki-ka*, SBH. 121, 12, is a synonym of *ina tulagguni-ka*.

<sup>2</sup> For this meaning of *ili*, cf. *umun il-la* = *šarra anašši*, ASKT. 128, 77 = SBP. 8, 13; *men nu-ili*, a crown he bore not, *Paradis*, 143, 16.

<sup>3</sup> For *si-si* = *banû* (properly *šuzuzu*, to establish), cf. *nu-na-ni-si-si*, CLAY, *Miscel.* 4 II 7, Var. *nu-na-ni-dû*, SAK. 26 i) III 4.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. millet, or grain. See *Paradis*, 136, 3.

<sup>5</sup> The translation is suggested by the primitive figurine of a shepherd lutanist, in HILFRECHT, *Explorations*, 529. *gidi* = *takalti zanmeri*, CT. 18, 34 b 25, and *gidida* = *ebubu*, PBS. V 149, 10. But "the shepherd" probably refers to Tammuz here. See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *zi-zi* = *šupšulu*; *nîn-zi-zi* = *tapšulu*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 34—5.

<sup>8</sup> For *nî* = *nu*, cf. SBP. 138, 22, *nî-kuš-ù* = *nu-kuš-ù*, SBH. 131, 48; *nî-nag-a-zu*, PBS. V 26, 10, &c.

## Col. II.

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|--|---|
| 1. <i>nar-balag nig-dug-gi šag-ġul-[la si-di-dé]</i>           | 1. That the flute may give forth sweet sound<br>rejoicing the heart,                    |
| 2. <i>gi-in iz-za-am-ma šag bur-bur- . . . . .</i>             | 2. . . . .  |
| 3. <i><sup>a</sup>Nidaba lāj-šag-zu na-ga-an-tum-da</i>        | 3. Nidaba, may thy pure heart desire.   |
| 4. <i>sizkur-zu dūg-dūg gā-gā-dé</i>                           | 4. That prayers be recited,   |
| 5. <i>sag-gīg-ga ki-a šū-šū-bu<sup>1</sup>-dé</i>              | 5. That the black-headed race of men be<br>established in the earth,                    |
| 6. <i>tul-tul-lá-bi sur-sur-ri-dé</i>                          | 6. That they chant the divine services grandly,   |
| 7. <i>amā ġiš-gar zur-ra im-ma-ni-in-tu-tur</i>                | 7. That into the chambers of the goddesses<br>tribute of sacrifice they bring,          |
| 8. <i>ama dumu-ni igi-nu-mu-un-ši-en-bar-e</i>                 | 8. That the mother search not for her son,  |
| 9. <i>ad-da ūš-tuk ñr-ra mu-un-dūg-a</i>                       | 9. That the father constant in love . . . (?),  |
| 10. <i>galu nig-tuk zi-ga-al ag(?) -dé</i>                     | 10. That the wealthy man may <i>exercise mercy</i> ,                                    |
| 11. <i><sup>a</sup>Nidaba lāj-šag-zu na-an-ga-tum-da</i>       | 11. Nidaba, may thy pure heart desire.  |
| 12. <i>ni-dagal-dagal-la ni-peš-peš-a me-en</i>                | 12. She that makes plentiful, makes prolific<br>art thou.                               |
| 13. <i>ambar-ra ambar-ana-ġim si-di-e me-en</i>                | 13. She that causes the city's pools to function<br>like the pools of heaven art thou.  |
| 14. <i>ġiš-sag si-di-me-en suġ-tub BU-BU</i>                   | 14. She that directs the . . . , that . . . .<br>beautiful things, thou art.            |
| 15. <i>nig-šag-ġul-ġul-e-dé nin<sup>2</sup>-zi-zi bi me-en</i> | 15. Thou art she that commands peace, to make<br>glad the heart.                        |
| 16. <i>a-dug-ga šag-ga gar-ra me-en</i>                        | 16. She that causes the fresh waters to return<br>in flood, art thou. <sup>3</sup>      |
| 17. <i>ñ-tu-da šag-ga a peš-peš a me-en</i>                    | 17. Thou art the creator of the floods, that<br>makest the waters abundant.             |
| 18. <i>ama dumu-ni kenag sum-sum-mu-dé</i>                     | 18. That the mother bestow love upon her<br>son, <sup>4</sup>                           |
| 19. <i>šukum dingir-gal-gal . . . . . me-en</i>                | 19. she that [ <i>establishes</i> ] the bread offerings<br>to the great gods, art thou. |
| 20. <i>dingir-gal-gal-e-ne ka-bi gal-kid me-en</i>             | 20. Of the great gods thou art the opener of<br>their mouths. <sup>5</sup>              |

<sup>1</sup> *šū-šū-gi* = *nazāzu*, and see *sug* 7) *Sum. Gr.* 243. *šug* > *šub*? *BU* is uncertain. Read perhaps *ug*, i. e. *šū-šū-ug*.

<sup>2</sup> *nin* is apparently employed here for the abstract prefix, ordinarily written *nin*, cf. Col. I 29.

<sup>3</sup> The passage is parallel to Gudea, Cyl. A 1, 5—9, where the return of the floods is ascribed to Enlil, with whom Nidaba was closely associated. Nidaba is only a specialised type of *Ninā*, the irrigation goddess, v. *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 149. She is probably referred to in RA. 19, 70, 15 as the *sinništum id-kug-ga*, "the woman, the pure river," and cf. line 23 *ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of this line must be obtained from its connection with line 19, which refers to offerings to the gods; consequently line 18 probably refers to the cult of Tammuz and Ishtar.

<sup>5</sup> The reference is probably to the rituals of the "opening of the mouth" of statues, or the consecration of statues of the gods by magic rites, sometimes called the "washing of the mouth." Nidaba as grain goddess was intimately connected with mystic rites. For a parallel passage, v. IV R. 25 a 54, *ka-zu nam-šib-ba gal-im-ma-ni-in-kid*.



- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>21. <i>sizkur</i><sup>1</sup> <i>šag-ḡul-la nîn ḡù-zal si-di me-en</i></p> <p>22. <i>dingir-ri-e-ne ḡa-la mu-ni-ib-sum-mu</i></p> <p>23. <i><sup>d</sup>En-lil lugal kur-kur-ra-ge</i></p> <p>24. <i>ḡà-nun</i><sup>4</sup> <i>ḡà-maḡ-EBUR dup-ḡál-la-ni me-en</i></p> <p>25. <i>sag-û-gal-ni me-en ninda-û-ba-ni me-en</i></p> <p>26. <i>uru-ba <sup>d</sup>En-lil-lá-ge enim-ba-da-gi-di-ḡa</i></p> <p>27. <i>nî-ba <sup>d</sup>Kug-sud-du</i><sup>5</sup> <i>igi-zal-lá-mal-di-iš</i></p> <p>28. <i>ib-dagal-dagal-la ba-ni-ib-keš-du</i></p> <p>29. <i>nig-tuk mà-e ba-ni-in-tu-tud</i></p> <p>30. . . . . <i>gal-a ba-ni-ib-KU-a</i></p> <p>31. <i><sup>d</sup>Nidaba laḡ-šag-zu na-an-ga-tum-da</i></p> <p>32. <i>nî-dagal-dagal-la nî-peš-peš me-en</i></p> <p>33. <i>ḡà nî-dagal-dagal-la ḡà-nun nî-ḡūr ḡūr</i><br/><i>me-en</i></p> <p>34. <i>šag-bi me-gal-gal za-e igi-ni-ib-ḡà-ḡà</i></p> <p>35. <i>nig-HAR nig-HAR-? im-ma-ab-bi-e</i></p> <p>36. <i>zur-zur (?) a-ra-zu-a lugal-la-a-ge</i></p> <p>. . . . .</p> | <p>21. She that prays earnestly<sup>2</sup> for gladness of men's hearts, queen that ensures happiness, art thou.</p> <p>22. Unto the gods thou givest them their portions.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>23. Of Enlil, lord of the lands,</p> <p>24. the scribe of his store-house, the far-famed house of the harvests, thou art.</p> <p>25. She that furnishes him gifts, art thou; the giver of his bread art thou.</p> <p>26. In his city Enlil, he who utters true words,</p> <p>27. with fearful grandeur upon Kugsuddu looked with glad eyes.</p> <p>28. In the wide cosmic chambers he summoned an assembly:</p> <p>29. "One of much wealth have I begotten."</p> <p>30. . . . .</p> <p>31. Nidaba, may thy pure heart desire.</p> <p>32. She that makes plentiful, that makes prolific, art thou.</p> <p>33. She that multiples homes and makes the store-houses overfull, art thou.</p> <p>34. Of the great decrees the meaning thou perceivest.</p> <p>35. . . . . thou commandest.</p> <p>36. Prayer and supplication of the king,</p> <p>. . . . .</p> |
|---|---|

## LITURGICAL HYMN TO DUNGI.

(W—B. 171.)

The prism, in four columns edited under this number, fortunately supplies a duplicate of Ni. 10993, a four column tablet, published by MYHRMAN, PBS. I, part 1, No. 7. A small Nippur tablet, Constantinople, Ni. 2372, published in BE. 31, No. 5, carries on Obverse and Reverse 28 lines of Col. I. The prism represents the text as employed in the cult of the deified king, Dungi, at Ellasar. Col. III is entirely broken away, but the number of missing lines (22) is

<sup>1</sup> See JRAS. 1921, 574.

<sup>2</sup> Nidaba as interceding mother goddess. See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 110—113.

<sup>3</sup> The grain goddess supplies the sacrifices of the gods.

<sup>4</sup> For *gannu*, store-house, v. *Dél. Per.* XIV 63 n. 1; DP. 155 XIII 1, &c.

<sup>5</sup> A title of Nidaba as goddess of lustration.

obtained from the total (102), given by the scribe at the end of the text, and Ni. 10993 carries nearly all of the lacuna of W-B. 171. The two texts from Nippur represent two editions, one on a single tablet and one on four tablets. In BE. 31, 14—18 I gave an edition of this important hymn, but the deficient character of the copy of Ni. 10993 then at my disposal seriously diminished the value of the interpretation. Dr. LEGRAIN, curator of the Babylonian Section in the University Museum, Philadelphia, has kindly collated a number of passages for me.<sup>1</sup> This was a favour for which I am most grateful; especially in view of the significance which I attach to this text in my reconstruction of Sumerian theology and the theory of the cults of deified kings. See *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, p. IX.

## W-B. 171. Col. I. Falkenstein ZA 50, 61 ff

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. [ba-tu-ud-dé-en-]na-ta ur-sag me-en  | 1. He that as a half(god) has been born, an heroic one art thou.                        |
| 2. <sup>d</sup> Dun-gi me-en ba <sup>2</sup> -tu-ud-dé-en-na-ta gurúš-<br>kalag-ga <sup>3</sup> me-en | 2. Divine Dungi thou art; he that as a half (god) has been born, a mighty man art thou. |
| 3. ūg igi-ğuš ušumgal-e tu-da me-en   | 3. Thou wast born a panther with flaming eyes, even as a great dragon. <sup>4</sup>     |
| 4. lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba me-en  | 4. King of the four regions thou art. <sup>5</sup>                                      |
| 5. na-kid sib sag-gíg-ga me-en  | 5. Pastor and shepherd of the dark-headed people thou art.                              |
| 6. nír-gál an <sup>6</sup> -kur-kur-ra me-en  | 6. Pre-eminent one of the lands unto the horizon of heaven art thou.                    |
| 7. dumu ñ-tu-da <sup>d</sup> Nin-sun-kam me-en  | 7. Child born of Ninsun art thou.   |
| 8. šag-gi-pad-da an-kug-ga me-en  | 8. Chosen by the pure heart of Anu art thou.  |
| 9. galu nam-tar-ra <sup>d</sup> En-lil-lá me-en   | 9. He whom Enlil predestined, art thou.   |
| 10. <sup>d</sup> Dun-gi kenag <sup>d</sup> Nin-lil-lá me-en   | 10. Divine Dungi, beloved of Ninlil, art thou.  |
| 11. sal-zi-dúg-ga <sup>d</sup> Nin-tu-ra me-en  | 11. Cared for faithfully by Nintur art thou.  |
| 12. giš-tág (gištug) sum-ma <sup>d</sup> En-ki-kam <sup>7</sup> me-en                                 | 12. Begifted with understanding by Ea art thou.   |
| 13. lugal kalag-ga <sup>d</sup> Nannar me-en  | 13. A king esteemed precious by Nannar art thou.  |
| 14. ūg ka-dū-a <sup>d</sup> Utu-ñ <sup>8</sup> me-en  | 14. Raging panther, heat of the Sun art thou.   |
| 15. <sup>d</sup> Dun-gi gi-li <sup>9</sup> pad-da <sup>d</sup> Innini me-en                           | 15. Divine Dungi, chosen for the adornment of Innini, art thou.                         |

<sup>1</sup> The University Museum also placed an excellent photograph at my disposal.

<sup>2</sup> *ba* = *muttatu*, *mešlu*, portion half; cf. *šumma zinništu muttat amelūti ulūl*, If a woman bears a "half man," i. e. hermaphrodite, CT. 27, 6, 2 = Fossey, *Bab.* V 8, 72. The commentary on this passage, RA. 17, 136, 26, explains *muttatu* by *mišlu*, v. AJSL. 38, 198. And *mišlu*, hermaphrodite, is the Syriac *māšād*.

<sup>3</sup> Explained by *zikaru*, POEBEL, BE. VI, 130, 2 = PBS. V 75, 2, a title of Lugalannamundu. See also CT. 36, 1, I 2.

<sup>4</sup> *ušumgal* may mean simply "governor"; v. *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 115 n. 2; PBS. X 152, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Here begins BE. 31 No. 5, and MYHRMAN, No. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *an* is here parallel to *an* in *an-ub-da-tabtab-ba*, "the four regions unto the horizon."

<sup>7</sup> Vars. *ga*.

<sup>8</sup> This variant of <sup>d</sup>*Ud*, BE. 31, 15, 16, proves that the title is really *utū*. Cf. KL. 96, 5; 68 Rev. 4 ff.

<sup>9</sup> BE. 31 No. 5, *gi-li-a*.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 16. <i>anšu (gir)<sup>1</sup>-nun-na kās-e dū-ù me-en</i>  | 16. Mule that speeds upon the route art thou.  |
| 17. <i>anšu-kur<sup>2</sup> ġar-ra-an-na kun-sud-sud me-en</i>   | 17. A horse which on a journey <i>hastens</i> art thou.  |
| 18. <i>dūr(ūr)<sup>3</sup> edīn-na<sup>4</sup> kās-e kīn-gà<sup>4</sup> me-en</i>                        | 18. Wild colt of the plains that is fashioned to run art thou.                                 |
| 19. <i>dup-sar gal-zu<sup>4</sup> Nidaba-kam<sup>5</sup> me-en</i>                                       | 19. The sage scribe of Nidaba art thou.  |
| 20. <i>nam-ur-sag-mu-gim nam-kalug-ga-mu-gim</i>   | 20. "Even as my heroism, as my valour,   |
| 21. <i>giš-túg-(gištug)-ga<sup>6</sup> šu-ġu-mu-ni-dū-a<sup>7</sup></i>                                  | 21. with understanding may (god) adorn me.   |
| 22. <i>enim-gi-na-bi ġa-ma-da-sá-a<sup>7</sup></i>   | 22. By his faithful word may I be directed aright.   |
| 23. <i>nig-si-di<sup>8</sup> ki-ġa-ba-ág-gà-ám<sup>8</sup></i>   | 23. Justice may I love."   |
| 24. <i>nig-erim-e ki-la-ba-ra-ág<sup>9</sup>-ám</i>  | 24. Wickedness mayest thou not love.   |
| 25. <i>enim nig-erim dúg-ga ġul ġa-ba-ra-gig-ga</i>  | 25. The speaking of wicked words mayest thou hate.   |
| 26. <i><sup>4</sup>Dun-gi me-en lugal kalag-ga<sup>10</sup> sag-bi-šú</i><br><i>è<sup>11</sup> me-en</i> | 26. Thou art the divine Dungi; a mighty king who excels all art thou.                          |
| 27. <i>á-nun-gál zag-še<sup>12</sup>-ni šú ġul-la-ni me-na-</i><br><i>ge-eš</i>                          | 27. Powerful one . . . . .   |
| 28. <i>ġir-ġu-mu-gur kaskal kalam-ma-ge si-ġe-</i><br><i>im-di-di</i>                                    | 28. May turn the footsteps home and the (business) expeditions of the Land cause to fare well. |
| 29. <i>kaskal-gid<sup>13</sup> ġu-mu-gi é-gal-la ġe-ne-dū</i>  | 29. From the far-away journey may he return and a palace build,                                |
| 30. <i>zag-ba<sup>14</sup> ġar ġe-be-ġin ki ní-bi gigir-gid.</i><br><i>ġe-be-gar</i>                     | 30. and beside it a garden set; in the awe inspiring place a "long wagon" dedicate.            |
| 31. . . . . <i>galu ba-a ġe-im-mi-in-ni-ku</i>   | 31. . . . a watchman(?) cause to dwell there.  |

## Col. II.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. . . . . <i>ta du</i> . . . . .   | 1. . . . .   |
| 2. <i>á a-še<sup>14</sup>-bi</i> . . . . .                                    | 2. . . . .   |
| 3. <i>uš ġar-ra-an-na ġin</i> . . . . .                                       | 3. . . . .   |
| 4. <i>eri-dū-a-gim</i> . . . . .  | 4. . . . .   |
| 5. <i>mu-mu ud ul-lí-a-[ta</i> . . . . . <i>]</i><br><i>ġù-[. . . . . de]</i> | 5. My name unto far-off days . . . . .<br>be proclaimed. |

<sup>1</sup> This sign is omitted on W-B. 171. MYHRMAN copied *ga-nun-na* for Ni. 10993. For *anšu-nun-na* = *kutammu*, *damdammu*, v. BM. 93080 Rev. 3-4, and for *anšu-gir-nun*, REISNER, TU. 57, 3. Cf. *anšu-ġir-nun-na*, SAI. 3404.

<sup>2</sup> Vars. *kur-ra*.

<sup>3</sup> *ur* on Vars. *ANŠU-NITAH*, *ANŠU-NITAH-ÜR*, *ANŠU-DUN-ÜR* = *māru*; *dur* < *dun-ur*.

<sup>4</sup> *na* omitted on Ni. 10993. Cstple. Ni. 2372, *kaskal-e kās-e*, "to run on the high way."

<sup>5</sup> Ni. 10993, *ka*.

<sup>6</sup> Text clearly *bi*! Read *gištub-bi*?

<sup>7</sup> Ni. 10993, *a-an*.

<sup>8</sup> Cstple. 2372 adds *e*, and omits *ám*.

<sup>9</sup> Ni. 10993, *ág-gà*.

<sup>10</sup> Ni. 10993 adds *ni*, "a king who is mighty."

<sup>11</sup> Cstple. 2372, *è-a*.

<sup>12</sup> *zag-šeg* occurs also in the Ibi-Sin liturgy, Ni. 8310, Obv. I 18 and CT. 4, 3 b 23.

<sup>13</sup> According to PSBA. 1909, 58 n. 23, this ideogram has the value *šu-ub-tum* = *šubtu*, abode, which would make good sense here. For the meaning *harran ruġtu*, v. RA. 10, 233 Rev. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 2, 8; CT. 15, 11, 20.




- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 6. <i>ár-mu kalam-ma la-[ba-an-da-ġalam]</i>  | 6. My glory in the Land may not [ <i>be forgotten</i> ].  |
| 7. <i>ka-sil-mu kur-kur-ra [ġe-si-si]<sup>1</sup></i>   | 7. May my praise fill the lands.  |
| 8. <i>šar kin-gal en á-kalug-mu kàš-e . . . . .</i>   | 8. May the mighty director of the universe,<br>the lord of my strength . . . . .                |
| 9. <i>Nibru-(ki)-ta síg . . . . .</i>   | 9. in Nippur the brick walls . . . . .  |
| 10. <i>kaskal-ġil áš-ġim šu-niġin-ta šag mu ġa-<br/>ma . . . . .</i>                          | 10. In assembling (the troops) as one man for<br>a distant march may he . . . . my heart.       |
| 11. <i>ug num-šul-bi-ta . . . . .<br/>dé ne<sup>2</sup>-ba ġub-ba me-en</i>                   | 11. In the fury of his valour . . . . .<br>in his might <i>stand</i> . . . .                    |
| 12. <i>dur-gar-dé banda(da)-mu<sup>3</sup> tum-mal ba-zal</i>                                 | 12. <i>When I take (my) seat</i> Tummal let wisdom<br><i>make glad</i> ,                        |
| 13. <i>tu-(ġu) mîr-šà sár-bi dal-la ġim á-mu ġu-<br/>mu-un-sud-sud<sup>5</sup></i>            | 13. the dove (?) <sup>4</sup> which like a dragon flies in<br>fury make wide my powers,         |
| 14. <i><sup>a</sup>Im-duġud(ġu) kur-bi-šú ġi il-la-ba šar-<br/>mu ġu-mu-bad-bad</i>           | 14. the Zu-bird which lifts its eyes upon the<br>foreign lands my sovereign power extend afar.  |
| 15. <i>uru-ki-ma<sup>6</sup>-da ki-gar-gar-ra-mu ġa-ma-làġ-<br/>gi-eš-ám</i>                  | 15. In my city which I have restored may<br>they establish me.                                  |
| 16. <i>kalam sag-ġig-ġa ?<sup>7</sup>-ġim LU-a-mu<sup>8</sup> ũ-duġ<br/>ġu-mu-ub-tuġ</i>      | 16. The Land of the dark-headed people like<br>. . . . . may I behold benevolently.             |
| 17. <i>gi<sup>9</sup> ġar-sag-ġà kenur-bi šu-ġub-sar-sar-ri-dé</i>                            | 17. To . . . . . Kenur in the place of<br>the "mountain," <sup>10</sup>                         |
| 18. <i><sup>a</sup>Utu á-dam-ma ud-ma-la</i>  | 18. may Shamash, who gives light unto living<br>creatures,                                      |
| 19. <i>é-kiš-šîr-ġál-ta ġa-ba-sar-ri-en</i>   | 19. in Egiššîrgal bestow abundance (?),   |
| 20. <i>é <sup>a</sup>Sin-na tàr ni-ġal-ġal-la ġe-ġál-la ġe-be-<br/>zi-zi<sup>11</sup></i>     | 20. (and) the temple of Sin, the court of fearful<br>splendor, with abundance may he fill.      |
| 21. <i>ġud ġa-ba-ni-ġaz udu ġa-ba-an-[šár-ri]<sup>12</sup></i>                                | 21. Oxen may one slay and sheep for him<br>furnish in abundance.                                |
| 22. <i>ñb á-lá-e K-balag-A<sup>13</sup> ġa-ba-[an ġi-ġi]</i>                                  | 22. <i>Timbrel and kettle drum</i> may one cause<br>to resound unto him.                        |
| 23. <i>nar-balag niġ-duġ-ġi si-ġa-ba-[sú-a]</i>   | 23. May the flute sweet things unto him proffer. <sup>14</sup>                                  |
| 24. <i><sup>a</sup>Dun-ġi ġalu niġ-lu-lu<sup>15</sup> me-en niġ-(?) ġa-<br/>ba-ni-dū-[a?]</i> | 24. O divine Dungi, lord of magnificence art<br>thou; he that creates <i>wealth</i> (art thou), |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Paradis*, 244, 43. Line omitted on Ni. 10993.<sup>2</sup> *ne*, Var. *né*.<sup>3</sup> On Ni. 10993.<sup>4</sup> *TU(ġu)* appears to designate a mythical monster here. Note that *TU(uru)* = *abubu*, flood, the Deluge, and the *tu-(ġu)* = *summatu* figures in the legend of the Deluge, *Gilgamesh Epic*, XI 147-8.<sup>5</sup> Cf. *á-sud-sud* = *i-[dan]* *arrakātum*, BÖLLENRUCHER, *Nergal*, 25, 36; CT. IV 36 30.<sup>6</sup> Ni. 10993, *uru-mà. uru-ki* means always the "capitol" of a province or kingdom.<sup>7</sup> Ni. 10993, sign *SĪG* = *lahru* (?), CT. 35, 5, 10.<sup>8</sup> Ni. 10993, before *ġim*,  and *LU-A-AN* clearly.<sup>9</sup> For *gi* = *ki*, place, locality, v. KAV. 51, t5.<sup>10</sup> A title of the temple Ekur at Nippur.<sup>11</sup> Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, 27, 13.<sup>12</sup> This phrase occurs in W-B. 161 III 24; PBS. X 130, 39; KAR. 16 Rev. 23.<sup>13</sup> Cf. BE. 30 No. 6 Rev. 15; RADAU, *Miscel.* p. 431, 8 and note 8.<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Paradis*, 244, 41; PBS. X 251, 29. Here begins Ni. 10993 Rev. I 1.<sup>15</sup> Cf. PBS. I 3 Obv. I 4; BL. 53 No. 95, 2.





25. *āg-gim ki lugal-tám-ta ni-il-la-mu-gim*  
 26. *é-gal-maḡ<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>Nin-é-gal-ka-kam<sup>1</sup>*  
 27. *dug-gan ni-dúb a-zal-li<sup>2</sup> ni-dúb*  
 28. *dug-gan ni-kur<sup>3</sup> ninda ḡu-mu-ni-kùr*  
 29. *<sup>d</sup>Nin-dū<sup>4</sup>-sag ir-pag-dim ḡa-ma-zi-dim*

25. Like a panther, in a place made fit for a king, bearer of fearfulness.  
 26. In the far-famed palace of Ninegal  
 27. The jar he poured out, the holy water bowl he poured out.  
 28. Jars he presented in sacrifice, food he presented in sacrifice.  
 29. May Nindusag (these) deeds of thoughtfulness render profitable unto thee.

Col. III.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 (67). *Nibru-(ki)-šú a-la-mà ḡa-ba-an-gur-ri-en*  
 2 (68). *ul-bi-a ul-dé enim-ib-bi mar-ur ba-an-LU-LU(?)*  
 3 (69). *mir-mir-ra im-gāl-lu mur-bi ní-bi-a ḡu-mu-un-du*  
 4 (71). *ūru<sup>7</sup> gir-gir immir-imin-bi-ta an-na-ge ib-dág*  
 5 (72). *ul gál-dág-ga ki ḡe-im-bul-bul*  
 6 (73). *<sup>d</sup>Immer-ri an-nig-dagal-la-ba ḡù-ḡu-mu-ni-de-de*  
 7 (74). *immir an-na-ge a-ki-ta<sup>8</sup> ḡù-ḡe-im-ma-da-ab-lal*  
 8 (75). *dāg-tūr-tūr-bi-im dāg-gal-gal-bi-im*  
 9 (76). *síḡ É-kišib-ba ḡe-im-mi-ib-za*  
 10 (77). *lugal me-en im-ba-ra ba-da- . . . . .*  
 11 (78). *āg-banda-gim  ḡu- . . . . .*  
 12 (79). *ḡaš-ka-na-gim HUB-ḡà ḡu- . . . . .*  
 13 (80). *dul-la-la gál-la-mu kaš ḡu- . . . . .*

1. For Nippur, *my city* (?), mayest thou cause her to repent.  
 2. Once on a time the Wrathful Word, the Deluge entered.<sup>6</sup>  
 3. The raging storm wind howled in fury.  
 4. The devastating storm with its seven winds in heaven thundered.  
 5. The storm making spirit caused the earth to quake.  
 6. The Rain God roared in the vast heavens.  
 7. The rains of heaven and the waters from the earth surged loudly.  
 8. And there were little (hail-)stones and great (hail-)stones.  
 9. May the brick walls of Ekišibba shew themselves in splendor.  
 10. A king thou art; the storm winds . . . . .  
 11. Like a young panther . . . . .  
 12. Like a roaring door-post . . . . .  
 13. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Double genitive. See § 139.<sup>2</sup> Var. *a-ḡib-bi*.<sup>3</sup> Note that this line proves *kùr* to be the original reading of . Ni.10993 has  for .<sup>4</sup> *dū* = REC. 233 is the *ḡanu* of LAGAR; v. RA. 13, 159. This title is a variant of *Nin-dū-sag*, CT. 24, 12, 7, the mother goddess. Probably Ninlil is meant here.<sup>5</sup> Col. III of the prism is entirely destroyed. The text is now taken from Ni. 10993, the numbers in MYHRMAN'S edition being given in parentheses.<sup>6</sup> The ordinary expression for this legend is *a-na-ru ba-an-ūr-ra* = *abubu ibla'i*. PBS. V 1 Col. V 4; SBP. 260, 19, &c. Perhaps MYHRMAN'S *ḡe-nigin* is to be read as above.<sup>7</sup> The sign is , i. e. *LAL* with value *uru*, variant of *uru* = *abubu*, Br. 911.<sup>8</sup> Cf. RA. 12, 29, 2. For *ḡù-lal* = *kalû*, cry, lament, v. Br. No. 751.

14 (81). <i>dūr(ūr)-aš-du-gim<sup>1</sup> kàš-sar-[sar me- en?]</i>	14. Like a <i>fleet</i> wild ass [ <i>art thou</i> ].
15 (82). <i><sup>a</sup>Utu é-a-ni-šú igi-ni ni-ib-[ra-tuġ]</i>	15. Shamash in his rising <i>looks upon thee</i> .
16 (83). <i>kaskal kaskal-gid ud 15-ám šu-ġu- [. . . . .]</i>	16. A journey of 15 days (?) . . . . .
17—22 (84—89). . . . .	17—22. . . . .

[Six lines missing.]

Col. IV.<sup>2</sup>

1. . . . . <i>ġa-ba-tàb-ba</i>	1. . . . . may repose. <sup>3</sup>
2. . . . . <i>za suġuš-gi-na</i>	2. . . . . in thy . . . make sure the foundation.
3. . . . . <i>an-šú ġa-ba-ila</i>	3. . . . . above all excel.
4. . . . . <i>la á-ġu-mu-ni-maġ</i>	4. . . . . be far-famed. <sup>4</sup>
5. . . . . <i>ġu]-mu-un-gam-gam</i>	5. . . . . may subdue.
6. . . . . <i>un ġu-mu-un-gi-en-gi<sup>5</sup></i>	6. . . . . of the people may he establish.
7. . . . . <i>kalama ki-sik-ki-a-na</i>	7. The . . . of the Land which he <i>created</i> <sup>6</sup>
8. . . . . <i>mu-ġe-im-sà</i>	8. . . . . as its name he chose.
9. . . . . <i>? ? ġu-mu-un-ed<sup>7</sup>-dé</i>	9. . . . . he caused to transcend(?).
10. . . . . <i>maġ mu<sup>8</sup>-ġu-mu-ni-in-pad-dé-ne<sup>8</sup></i>	10. . . . . the far-famed they named.
11. . . . . <i>-maġ lugal-mà<sup>9</sup>-ge mí-dúg-ga</i>	11. O . . . . ., the far-famed, <i>my</i> king, care for. <sup>10</sup>
12. <i><sup>a</sup>Sin-na é-kiš-šir-gál-ta</i>	12. O Sin in Ekišširgal,
13. <i>nam-ur-sag nam-kulag-ga nam-til nig-duġ sag-e-eš PA + KAB + DU<sup>11</sup></i>	13. Heroism, power, life and welfare grant him as a gift. <sup>10</sup>
14. <i>á-maġ<sup>12</sup> sum-ma <sup>a</sup>Nu-nam-nir-ra</i>	14. The begifted with might by Nunamnir,
15. <i><sup>a</sup>Dun-gi kur-sun-sun un-na<sup>13</sup> gi-en-gi</i>	15. Divine Dungi, destroyer of the foreign land, giver of confidence to his people,
16. . . . . <i>an-ki-a gab-ri nu-nb-tuk</i>	16. . . . . in heaven and earth no rival has;
17. <i><sup>a</sup>Dun-gi dumu nir-gál an-na-ge mí-dúg-ga</i>	17. Divine Dungi, the valliant son of Anu, care for. <sup>10</sup>
18. <i><sup>a</sup>Nidaba zag-sal</i>	18. Glorify Nidaba. <sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Semitic *agganu*; v. *Babylonian Wisdom*, 71 n. 7. The text really has *GIR* not *NITAI*!<sup>2</sup> The last line of Col. III = Ni. 10993 Rev. II 1, which ends *-in-gi*.<sup>3</sup> This line = MYHRMAN's line 92.<sup>5</sup> Var. omits *gi*.<sup>7</sup> Var. *DUL-DU*.<sup>8</sup> Var. omits *mu* (?) and reads *ġu-mu-ni-pad-dé-en-ne!*<sup>10</sup> Addressed to the mother goddess (?).<sup>12</sup> So Ni. 10993. W—B. 171 has apparently a ligature *TAI + DI*(?).<sup>14</sup> For this rubric, which mentions the goddess of writing, as an indication of epical poems, v. PBS. X 103.<sup>4</sup> Cf. *á-maġ* = *širiš*, KAR. 97 Rev. 11.<sup>6</sup> *ki-siġ-ga* = *šakūnu*? Cf. *giš-kisigga* = *šikittu*.<sup>9</sup> Var. *ma*.<sup>11</sup> Var. adds *ga*.<sup>13</sup> Var. omits *na*.



# LITURGY OF THE CULT OF KÊŠ.

From a Prism in the Possession of E. S. DAVID.

Through the unusual kindness of a dealer in antiquities, Mr. E. S. DAVID of Paris, I am permitted to publish one of the most valuable Sumerian texts. The monument is a perfect prism, duplicate of the Ashmolean Prism, which I first published in *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. 197, and republished in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. XVI, pp. 208—9. Several duplicates of this text were found on tablets of the Nippur Collections in Constantinople and Philadelphia. These were utilised for a new edition in my *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*, 311—323. The composition is quite unique in Cuneiform literature, having eight sections, each of which ends with the same refrain. Even with aid of the Ashmolean Prism and four duplicate fragments the text remained defective and the meaning obscure. We have now the entire text before us with numerous variant readings, and the real nature of the composition is revealed. It is in fact not only a liturgy in glorification of the temple of Ninharsag, mother-goddess of Kêš, but a hymn of the cult of the dying god of Kêš, son of Ninharsag. The name of this dying god, the Tammuz of Kêš, is not given here, but a similar text, recently published by M. THUREAU-DANGIN in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XIX 175—185, proves that at Kêš and Adab Lillu and Ninharsag were figures in a cult similar to that of Tammuz and Ishtar at Erech.

The location of Kêš remains unsettled, but the evidence of the texts seems to indicate that it was either part of Erech, or in the vicinity of Erech. Ninharsag, one of the many titles of *dingir-maĝ* = *bêlit ilê*,<sup>1</sup> was the goddess particularly associated with Kêš.<sup>2</sup> Another title of this goddess is Nintud or Nintur, also a common title of her at Kêš.<sup>3</sup> In this liturgy the name is read *Nin-tu-ra* in II 7; IV 5. 28. 33. 35, and the two titles indicate the same deity. Ninharsag was the principal deity of Kêš as is known from inscriptions of Ur-Nammu,<sup>4</sup> Eannatum<sup>5</sup> and Rim-Sin.<sup>6</sup> There her name was also Aruru,<sup>7</sup> and in a hymn to her she is described as *gašan-ĝarsagga*, identical with Ninharsag.<sup>8</sup> In this hymn her son, the dying god, is mentioned.<sup>9</sup> At Kêš her temple bears the name *ur-šáb-ba*.<sup>10</sup> As mother of the god Lisi-gún<sup>11</sup> she is called queen of É-ur-šáb-ba,<sup>12</sup> and in the Louvre hymn Lisigún is lord of *ur-šáb-ba*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> CT. 24, 12, 1 = 25, 1 and 24, 12, 3, *d.Ninharsagga* = 25, 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Col. III 13; IV 33 of this prism, and PBS. X 311.

<sup>3</sup> See BL., No. 95.

<sup>4</sup> SAK. 188, m).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 XVIII 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 237 e), here called Ninmaĝ.

<sup>7</sup> *d.Aruru é Keš-(ki)-a*, "Aruru in the temple of Kêš," BL. No. 102, 1; *d.Aruru*, the *sigal Keš-(ki)-ge*, JSOR. III 15 R. 14.

<sup>8</sup> JSOR. III 15 R. 6. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Obv. 17, *a-tud-zu*, "thy begotten child." See also Col. IV 13 of the *David Prism*.

<sup>10</sup> BL. No. 175, Obv. 14, has the ideogram for Opis or Akšak followed by *UUR-ŠAG-BA*; the ideograms are glossed *ki-sa ur-šá-ba*, see the Var. BA. V 619, 29. Here the ideogram for Akšak is confused with the ideogram for Kêš.

<sup>11</sup> The gloss in HARPER, *Letters*, XIV, No. 1449, l. 2 indicates that the star *NE-GUN* was pronounced *lisi-gun*, but the pre-Sargonic month *ezen d.NE-gún* is rendered by *ezen d.Nin-gún*, V R. 43 a 11! Note also that *d.NE-gún* is a variant of *d.Nin-gún*, II R. 59 c 40 = 58.

<sup>12</sup> SBP. 156, 39; RA. XIX 178, 27.

On the other hand the same mother-goddess, under all these titles, appears as the principal deity of Adab. A brick-stamp of Dungi from Adab states that this king built *Ekešdu*, her beloved temple, to Ninharsag,<sup>1</sup> and a hymn to Innini, in which she is identified with Nintur, has "Adab, the city of Nintura," where her temple is called Esarra.<sup>2</sup> Now in the hymn published by M. THUREAU-DANGIN there is a complete parallel to the theological ideas usually associated with the cult of Tammuz and Ishtar. In the Louvre text Gašanharsag is the mother of a dying god called *mu-lu-lil*, "the cripple lord,"<sup>3</sup> and a goddess described as *munus-egi-me*, "queen of decrees," or *a-tu(d)-tūr ūr-kin-me-me-ge*, "who directs the decrees," is his sister. With this compare *ama* <sup>a</sup>*Nin-tu-ra eš-bar-kin-dūg-ga*, "Mother Nintur proclaim oracles," in Col. II 7 of this prism. It is, therefore, probable that, by analogy with the composite character of Ishtar-Innini as mother and sister of Tammuz, the mother-goddess of Kêš and Adab was dissected into two aspects in relation to the dying god of that cult. In fact the refrain at the end of the sections on the *David Prism* seems to describe Ninharsag as weeping for the young god even as Nintur (*his sister?*). The Louvre hymn places the wailings for the lord *Lil* in Kêš and Adab;<sup>4</sup> *mu-lu-lil* is identified by THUREAU-DANGIN with the god *Lillu*, clearly a title of the god Enlil in SBP. 222, 9. Under this title <sup>a</sup>*Lil* became the son and brother of the mother-goddess of Kêš and Adab and the young god who was bound and imprisoned in the lower-world in this cult. For him she weeps and there are numerous references to him in this Kêš Liturgy, although he is not specifically mentioned by name. The refrains are based upon this cult of weeping for the dying god at Kêš, and here he is compared to the god Aš-šir, or Aš-šir-gi on the variants. This deity appears in the Louvre hymn as *Aš-šir-ki u-mu-un Kēš(ki)-ge*, "lord of Kêš," and is clearly identical with Šul-pa-è-a mentioned in Col. III 15 with Aššir. Both appear to have been associated with Ninharsag as consorts of the mother-goddess. At any rate <sup>a</sup>Šul-pa-è is named as the husband of *Mama*, one of the names of Bêlit-ilê, the mother-goddess, in CT. 24, 25, 97, but in the cult of the dying god the mother-goddess has no consort. At any rate in the entire literature of the cult of Tammuz and Ishtar a husband who was the father of this young god is never mentioned. Lisigun and Ašširgi are in fact sons of the mother-goddess themselves and Tammuz was regarded as the son, brother and husband of Ishtar. <sup>a</sup>Aš-šir, son of *dingir-maš* (CT. 24, 26, 110), occurs in a list headed by <sup>a</sup>Šulpae; he and Lisigun are the sons of the same goddess, *i. e.*, Ninharsag (l. 112) and see SBP. 156, 39; <sup>a</sup>Aš-šir-gi and <sup>a</sup>Lil-lu are forms of Ninurta, son of Enlil.<sup>5</sup> But note that Ninurta is identified with <sup>a</sup>*Ab-û* in CT. 25, 13, 27, which is, in fact, the oldest name of the dying god Tammuz.<sup>6</sup> Ninurta is also identified with Ningirsu,<sup>7</sup> god of Lagash, and another form of the "bound god."<sup>8</sup>

It is, therefore, certain that this cult of a dying god was associated with many types of the mother-goddess who was mother, sister and wife of the bound or cripple god. When this text and the Louvre hymn refer to Ašširgi and Šulpae as gods of Kêš, who cared for the dying youth, son of Ninharsag, and who joined in the wailings for him, we have to do with an aspect

<sup>1</sup> BANKS, *Bismya*, 344.

<sup>2</sup> Weld-Blundell Collection, Vol. I 18, 25. Esarra is the usual name of the temple of Ninharsag-Nintur etc. at Adab.

<sup>3</sup> RA. XIX 178, 18; 179, 8.

<sup>4</sup> RA. XIX 178, 13. 15. 23. 24.

<sup>5</sup> HAUPT, ASKT. 80, 5. Enlil's consort Ninlil is the married type of Ninharsag.

<sup>6</sup> See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 8 n. 1, and SBP. 156, 38.

<sup>7</sup> CT. 25, 13, 29.

<sup>8</sup> Note that *gir-su* means *nakmû*, bondage, AJSL. 33, 197, 260, and *unum gir-su-a*, lord of imprisonment, is Tammuz, PBS. X 306, 28.

Weld-Blundell Collection I.



of the pantheon wholly foreign to the myth of *Tammuz and Ishtar* and of *Ninharsag and Lillu*. These deities were really consorts of Ninharsag and also her sons, and different titles of Lillu himself. In the political aspect of the cults of the mother-goddesses of Kêš, Adab and Lagash, this son is given the rôle of a local Bêl, an imitation of Enlil of Nippur. But an important fact remains and is made obvious by this new prism; the original and essential cult of the great mother-goddess in every Sumerian city was based upon the myth of the dying god, born of the unmarried earth-mother, her lover and her husband.

In my edition of the new prism the variants are referred to by the following abbreviations:

A = Ashmolean Prism, RA. 16, 208—9.

B = Constantinople tablet, BE. 31, No. 23.

C = Philadelphia tablet, Ni. 8384, in BARTON, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 11.

D = Philadelphia tablet, Ni. 11876, in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, RADAU, *Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts*, No. 8.

E = Philadelphia tablet, Ni. 14031, in my *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, PBS. X, No. 22.

It should be noted that Var. C has an extra section between sections 3 and 4 of the other texts. This will be found in my edition, PBS. X 317—8.

### Liturgy of the Cult of Kêš.

#### Col. I.

1. èš-nun-e <sup>1</sup> èš-nun-e é-ta nam-ta-ab-ed	1. Thou of Ešnunnak, thou of Ešnunnak, upon (this) temple arise.
2. <sup>d</sup> En-lil èš-nun-e é-ta nam-ta-ab-ed	2. Thou, the Ešnunnakian Bêl, upon (this) temple arise.
3. èš-nun-e nam-lugal-la é-ta nam-ta-ab-ed	3. Thou, the Ešnunnakian of kingship, upon (this) temple arise.
4. <sup>d</sup> En-lil kur-kur-ra igi-mi-ni-ib-il-il-i	4. Thou, Enlil, of the lands lift up thine eyes.
5. <sup>d</sup> En-lil-ra kur ní-ba mu-na-il-il-i <sup>2</sup>	5. Unto Enlil the foreign land bears reverence.
6. an-ub-da tab-tab <sup>d</sup> En-lil-ra <sup>giš</sup> ar-gim na-sîg <sup>3</sup>	6. The four regions for Enlil are green like a garden.
7. Kêš-(ki) sag-ila mu-na-ni-in <sup>4</sup> -gál	7. He has caused to be lifted up the head of Kêš,

<sup>1</sup> èš-nun or <sup>d</sup>èš-nun is by origin the title of Umun-banda, god of Ešnunnak east of the Tigris at the ancient Sumerian city Dêr. He was transferred to Erech as Lugalbanda, being identified there with the prehistoric king of Erech, Lugalbanda. For the migration of the pantheon of Ešnunnak to Erech, see the *Weld-Blundell Collection*, Vol. I 1—3, and the Introduction to W. H. LANE'S *Babylonian Problems*. But here he was installed in a section of Erech known as Kullab; "<sup>d</sup>Enlil of Kullab is <sup>d</sup>Lugalbanda," V R. 46, 27; also this prism speaks of him as <sup>d</sup>Enlil èš-nun-e, "The Ešnunnak-Enlil," I 2. Kêš, the city which forms the subject of this liturgy, was also a quarter of the great city Erech. Note that Ishtar of Hallab (a section of Erech) is the queen of Kêš, *Babyloniaca*, VII 94. It is clear that *ešnun* means Lugalbanda here, for he is called lord of Ešnunnak in SBP. 154, 22, where the Erechian god is clearly meant. As a form of Enlil the passage requires no elucidation and for Enlil as a sun-god, as here, see PBS. X 158 n. 1; *Babyl.* III 246, 17. It has been assumed that Lugalbanda was pronounced Lugal-mar-da on the authority of SCHROEDER, KAV. 46, 17, probably a late Semitic interpretation; *ibid.* I. 15 has probably [*lu-gal-ba*]-an-da, according to a collation sent to me by Dr. WEIDNER.

<sup>2</sup> Var. A, *gür-gür-ru*.

<sup>3</sup> Var. A omits *giš* and reads *mu-na-sîg*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid. ib.*



8. *Keš-(ki) kur-kur-ra sag-gà il-bi*
9. *<sup>a</sup>En-lil-li Keš-(ki) zag-sal am-ma-ab-bi*
10. *<sup>a</sup>Nidaba NU<sup>1</sup> ka-aš-bi-im<sup>2</sup>*
11. *enim-bi-ta sa-gim im-da-an-sur*
12. *dub-ba mā-mā<sup>3</sup> ?-šú al-mā-mal*
13. *é mūš kalam-ma gud-ğuš Šurubbak<sup>4</sup>*
14. *é Keš-(ki) mūš kalam-ma gud-ğuš Šurubbak*
15. *ğar-sag-da mū-a au-da gú-lá-a<sup>5</sup>*
16. *é-kur-da mū-a kur-ra sag-il-bi*
17. *abzu<sup>7</sup>-gim ri<sup>8</sup>-a ğar-sag-bi<sup>9</sup> sîg-sîg-ga*
18. *Keš-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-túm-mu*
19. *ur-sag-bi <sup>a</sup>Aš-šir-gim rib-ba ama ši-in-ga-  
û-tud*
20. *<sup>nunus</sup>egi-bi<sup>12</sup> <sup>a</sup>Nin-tur-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba<sup>13</sup>  
er-mu-ni-in-du<sup>14</sup>*
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21. *é 1 kam-ma*
- 
22. *é-dug ki-dug-ga dū-a*
23. *é Keš-(ki) dug-ga ki-dug-ga dū-a*
8. Kêš whose head has been exalted in the lands.
9. Of Enlil Kêš doth speak in praise.
10. Nidaba, its . . . . .
11. by her command like a net has woven:
12. Writing on tablets she instituted . . . . .
13. O temple, the adornment of the Land, *raging bull* of Šuruppak,<sup>5</sup>
14. Temple of Kêš, adornment of the Land, *raging bull* of Šuruppak,
15. built on the nether-world mountain, rising as a rival to heaven,
16. built on the chthonian house, whose head is lifted up above the world mountain,
17. like the nether-sea founded, like the nether-world mountain made clean!
18. He like Kêš made surpassing, he the lord is seized away.<sup>10</sup>
19. Him like its hero, Aššir,<sup>11</sup> made surpassing, the mother bore.
20. Its queen, like Nintur for him the surpassing, then the wailing made.
- 
21. The first lament.<sup>15</sup>
- 
22. Beneficent temple built in a good place,
23. Beneficent temple of Kêš, built in a good place,

<sup>1</sup> Read *sir* = *ṭamû*, to weave (?).

<sup>2</sup> Var. A omits *im.*

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. *mà-mà*. Hence SAR = *śatāru*, may be read *ma* as well as *sar*.

<sup>4</sup> Var. A *kurŠurubba-ki*.

<sup>5</sup> Šuruppak is usually identified with the modern Arabic ruins of Fara north of Erech, and this passage seems to identify or associate Keš with this city.

<sup>6</sup> Literally "to extend the shoulders," to protrude, rush into, intrude. Cf. Gudea Cyl. B 17, 19. *gú-lal* = *šurru* II<sup>1</sup> of *šáru*, to intrude, rush into, EBELING, KAR. 46, 1 (*uku-ba-ra-lal-e* = *gú-ba-ra-lal-e*, CT. 17, 35, 67 = *u-ša-ru*) and Rm. 343 Rev. 4 *gú-lal* = *šurru*. <sup>7</sup> The sign seems to be the *šeššig* of ZU-AB, read *abzu-gal*? Uncertain.

<sup>8</sup> Text has *HU* clearly.

<sup>9</sup> Var. A *gim*. For this use of *bi*, v. *Sum. Grammar*, § 72.

<sup>10</sup> I now interpret this line to refer to Lillu, Tammuz of Kēš, RA. 19, 177—180.

<sup>11</sup> Var. A has *passim* *d.Aš-šir-gi*, a form of Ninurta, and son of Ninḫarsag of Kēš like the dying god Lillu who is probably referred to in line 18. *ur-sag-bi* I understand to be a reference to Lillu.

<sup>12</sup> *NIN-bi* is Ninharsag.

<sup>13</sup>  $a-ba = arka$ , "and then." See also BE. 31, 2, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Var.  $\Delta$  duğ, dũ.

<sup>15</sup> *é* on this tablet and on B, D, probably stands for the verb *e* = *ḳabû*, to speak. See *Sum. Grammar*, 212; and note the same expression in BE. 31, 46 I 9; 11 4. See also *e* = *ḳabû marû* distinguished from *KÁ*(du-u) = *ḳabû ḫamtu*, RA. 13, 94, 12. This root is certainly identical with *e*, to wail, *nāḫu*, and *i* = *tazzimtu*, woe, RA. 17, 199, 10. Var. A has *gú* in all the legible parallel rubrics except at the end of the fifth section where it also has *é*. *gú* is clearly an abbreviation for *ki-ṣub-gú* = *ṣēru*, strophe, song, EBELING, KAR. 100, 5; cf. the full form PBS. X 256, 17 *el passim*; *ki-ṣub-gú-da-kam*, 151, 2.

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| <p>24. . . . . <i>nun-gim an-na dirig-ga</i><sup>1</sup></p> <p>25. [ . . . . . <i>kug</i>]-<i>gim ka-gûn</i><sup>2</sup> <i>ri-a</i></p> <p>26. <i>má an-na-ge</i><sup>3</sup> <i>mûš kur-kur-ra</i></p> <p>27. <i>û-bân-da-ge</i><sup>4</sup> <i>ki-a-ta sur-sur-ra</i></p> <p>28. <i>é gud-gim ur-ša NINDA</i><sup>5</sup>-<i>gim gû-sil-di</i></p> <p>29. <i>é šag-bi-ta ùb kalam-ma</i></p> <p>30. <i>a-ga-bi-ta zi ki-en-gi-ra</i></p> <p>31. <i>é ib-gal an-e</i><sup>7</sup> <i>uš-sa</i></p> <p>32. <i>é-zi-da-gal</i><sup>9</sup> <i>an-e</i><sup>7</sup> <i>uš-sa</i></p> | <p>24. Like . . . . . unto heaven made surpassing (all),</p> <p>25. Like . . . . . adorned with a beautiful gate,</p> <p>26. Like the "boat of heaven," the adornment of the lands,</p> <p>27. Like a panther on earth designed,</p> <p>28. The temple like a bull roars, like a young bull it bellows.</p> <p>29. Within this temple is intercession of the Land.</p> <p>30. In its portico is the breath of life of Sumer.<sup>6</sup></p> <p>31. O temple of the great chamber,<sup>8</sup> attaining unto heaven,</p> <p>32. Great faithful house, attaining unto heaven,</p> |
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## Col. II.

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| <p>1. <i>é-men-gal an-ni</i><sup>10</sup> <i>uš-sa</i></p> <p>2. <i>é</i> <sup>a</sup><i>Ašnan-na</i><sup>12</sup> <i>an-ni uš-sa</i></p> <p>3. <i>ganun</i><sup>13</sup>-<i>bi an-šag-ga lá-a</i></p> <p>4. <i>te-me-bi abzu-a si-ga</i></p> <p>5. <i>giš-síg</i><sup>14</sup>-<i>bi kur-kur-ra dul-la</i></p> <p>6. <i>é an-ni ki-gar-ra</i> <sup>a</sup><i>En-lil-li zag</i><sup>15</sup>-<i>sal-dûg-ga</i></p> <p>7. <i>ama</i> <sup>a</sup><i>Nin-tu-ra eš-bar-kin dûg-ga</i></p> | <p>1. Great house of the crown,<sup>11</sup> attaining unto heaven,</p> <p>2. House of Ašnan, attaining unto heaven.</p> <p>3. Its sanctuary extends toward the vault of heaven.</p> <p>4. Its foundation is laid upon the abyss.</p> <p>5. Its walls overwhelm the lands with awe.</p> <p>6. O temple, built unto high heaven, sing the praise of Eulil.</p> <p>7. O mother Nintur proclaim oracles.<sup>16</sup></p> |
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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *an-na dirig-ga* = *An-tum šu-tu-ra-[at]*, BA. V 707 Rev. 7.<sup>2</sup> The sign seems to be the *gunu* of *SI*. Vars. A, B both have *SI*. Cf. *ka-gûn-a*, or *ka-sû-a*, the "brilliant gate," in the chapel of Nebo, OLZ. 1911, 517.<sup>3</sup> Vars. A, B, *gim*. Cf. *Poème du Paradis*, 224, 29.<sup>4</sup> *û-banda* for *ugbanda*.<sup>5</sup> For *NINDA* = *mîru*, v. BEZOLD, *Versprengte Texte*, 117, 17. For the full form of this sign, v. SAI. 4045, 3230 and REC. 63.<sup>6</sup> For lines 29—30, see Col. III 25—6.<sup>7</sup> Var. A, *an-e-ri*, B, *an-ni*.<sup>8</sup> *ib-gal* is a title of a chapel to Innini in various temples, especially at Umma, Erech and Lagash.<sup>9</sup> *é-zi-da* = *bitu kinu*, is a general title of sacred buildings, SBI. 65, 15; 130, 38; SBP. 12, 35; 22, 47; BL. 31, 5—13; KL. 5 Rev. 38—44 &c.<sup>10</sup> Var. A, *an-e*.<sup>11</sup> The sign *men* is written without interior *ME*, as in ALLOTTE DE LA FUYE, DP. 69. See REC. 416.<sup>12</sup> Or read *ezin-na*. See PBS. X 174, 9 and *e-zi-en-na*, PBS. V 106 III 17. Here the grain goddess seems to be identified with Ninharsag of Kêš.<sup>13</sup> *E-NUN* is certainly the same ideogram as SAI. 3781, *ganun* = *ganunu*. See the gloss *E-NUN (ga-nun)*? PBS. V 106 R. IV 18. For the meaning, see RA. 12, 40 n. 7. Cf. Col. III 31.<sup>14</sup> See ZA. 24, 387 and POEBEL, BE. VI p. 50. The line is not on Var. A.<sup>15</sup> Var. A *zag-šû-sal*!<sup>16</sup> Cf. l. 29 below.

<p>8. é Kēš-(ki) gurun-na ?-ga 9. Kēš-(kī)-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-tum-mu</p> <hr/> <p>10. ur-sag-bi <sup>a</sup>.Aš-šir-gim rib-ba ama ši-in-ga-                                     n-tud 11. <sup>nunu</sup>egi-bi <sup>a</sup>.Nin-tur-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er                                     mu-ni-in-du</p> <hr/> <p>12. é 2 kam-ma</p> <hr/> <p>13. é an-šu 600 bur-iku ki-šu 300 bur-iku<sup>1</sup> 14. é an-šu 10 bur-iku ki-šu 5 bur-iku 15. é an-šu alim<sup>2</sup> ki-šu lu-lim 16. é an-šu ANŠU-BAR<sup>3</sup> ki-šu dár-bar 17. é an-šu ANŠU-BAR-dar<sup>4</sup>-a ki-šu dár-bar-                                     sîg-ga 18. é an-šu babbar-gim ò-a ki-šu [UD]<sup>6</sup>                                     <sup>a</sup>Nannar-gim sîg-ga<sup>7</sup> 19. é an-šu giš šita<sup>8</sup> šul ki-šu <sup>giš</sup>tun-ám</p>	<p>8. O temple of Kēš, fruit . . . . . 9. He like Kēš made surpassing, he the lord is taken away. 10. Him like its hero, Aššir, made surpassing, the mother bore. 11. Its queen like Nintur, for him made sur- passing then wailing made.</p> <hr/> <p>12. The second lament.</p> <hr/> <p>13. Temple, in heaven 10800 iku, on earth 5400 iku. 14. Temple, in heaven 180 iku, on earth 90 iku. 15. Temple, in heaven the fish-goat, on earth a stag. 16. Temple, in heaven the šakan(?), on earth the hart. 17. Temple, in heaven the spotted šakan(?), on earth the yellow hart.<sup>5</sup> 18. Temple, unto heaven rising like the sun, on earth like Nannar pure. 19. Temple, in heaven like a heroic mace, on earth like a toothed sickle.<sup>9</sup></p>
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<sup>1</sup> Here begins Var. E.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *a-li-im*, CT. 11, 32 a 11, is established by the gloss *a-li*, KL. 78, 9. Undoubtedly *alim*, here, means *kusarikku*, fish-goat, name of Capricorn, and for some reason the temple of Ninharsag in Kēš was identified with this constellation (?). The name of the mother-goddess which occurs here most frequently is *Nintur*. *Ninmah*, also a common title of this deity, is identified with Hydra, by KUGLER, *Sternkunde*, I 253, and with Scorpio, CT. 26, 42, 12. WEIDNER, *Handbuch* 171 identifies her with the tail of Hydra. From lines 13—14 it is clear that Kēš and its temple were located in a vast field in heaven, as other cities on earth had their stellar counterparts. *mulNun-ki*, star of Eridu, CT. 33, 3, 20; 5, 20; located in Argo by KUGLER, *Ergänzungen*, 221.

<sup>3</sup> This ideogram probably stands for the older and more common *ANŠU-BAR-AN*, certainly a domestic animal. Teams of four of these animals, CT. 1, 6, I 1 and the same are described, *ibid.* 7 III 12 as *R-dun-úr-ra*, and *anšu-dun-úr* = *mūru*, colt, young ass, Sum. *dur*. In NIKOLSKI, *Collection Likhatcheff*, 59 I 1, *nitaḡ-R-gal-gal*, "the great male R," is referred to by *anšu* in l. 2, and *sal-bar-an*, *nitaḡ-bar-an*, *ibid.*, ll. 4—5 *et p.*, obviously stand for male and female R. See also *ibid.* No. 63. *R-nitaḡ*, LANGDON, *Archives of Draham*, 51, 19, THUREAU-DANGIX, *Inventaire I*, 1105 *anšu-bar-an* with *dasu* = *agalu*; TH.-D., *ibid.*, p. 6 n. 5, proposes to identify the ideogram with *ANŠU-ŠUHUB* = *parā*, "mule." But cf. *ANŠU-AN* (*šakan*) = *an*....., BM. 38177, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *dar* = *burrumu*, spotted, is verified by GADD in RA. 19, 159; cf. EBELING, KAR. 298 R. 21, the clay dogs *dar-dar*, represented in the British Museum by a clay dog painted white with red spots.

<sup>5</sup> Var. A has for this line, "Temple in heaven like the serpent gleaming, on earth like the sun thou shinest."

<sup>6</sup> The text has *UD* here, probably a case of dittography from the line above which the scribe omitted.

<sup>7</sup> I take the word to mean *damāḱu* here; in AJS. 33, 199, 296, *KALAG* = *dunḱu* has the gloss ....*ig*, probably *si-ig*; *ṣig*, *sig* is at any rate the word for *damāḱu*. LUCKENBILL restores *e-si-ig*, but this word means "to be mighty" only.

<sup>8</sup> On *šila* and the forms of the sign, v. RA. 13, 3—4.

<sup>9</sup> Line 19 omitted on Var. A.




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| <p>20. <i>é an-šú kur-ra-ám<sup>1</sup> ki-šú idim-ma-ám<sup>1</sup></i></p> <p>21. <i>é an-šú 3-gām<sup>2</sup>-bi na-nam</i></p> <p>22. <i>Kēš-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu</i></p> <p>23. <i>ur-sag-bi<sup>3</sup> Aš-šir-gim rib-ba ama ši-in-ga<sup>3</sup>-<br/>ù-tud</i></p> <p>24. <i>nunus<sup>4</sup>egi-bi<sup>4</sup> Nin-tur-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er-<br/>mu-ni-in-du</i></p> <hr/> <p>25. <i>é 3 kam-ma</i></p> <hr/> <p>26. <i>uru-ki<sup>4</sup> ga-ám uru-ki ga-ám šag-bi a-ba<sup>5</sup><br/>mu-zu</i></p> <p>27. <i>é Kēš-(ki) uru-ki ga-ám<sup>4</sup> šag-bi a-ba<sup>5</sup> mu-zu</i></p> <p>28. <i>šag-bi<sup>6</sup> ur-sag ur-sag-e-ne si-mu-un-si-di-<br/>e-ne<sup>8</sup></i></p> <p>29. <i>eš-bar-kin-dúg-ga šu-gal-mu-un-dú-dú</i></p> <p>30. <i>é<sup>9</sup> gud-dú-dú<sup>9</sup>-dam gū-ám-ma-gur-ri<sup>10</sup></i></p> <p>31. <i>é<sup>9</sup> gud-šár-a<sup>11</sup> al-kūr-e</i></p> <p>32. <i>[é udu-]šár-a<sup>11</sup> al-kūr-e</i></p> <p>33. <i>[é-e tum-ma-ám] gū-bi luš<sup>12</sup></i></p> | <p>20. Temple, in heaven like a mountain, on earth like an abyss.</p> <p>21. Temple, in heaven three are its <i>servitors</i>.</p> <p>22. He like Kēš made surpassing, he the lord is seized away.</p> <p>23. Him like its hero, Aššir, made surpassing, the mother bore.</p> <p>24. Its queen like Nintur for him the surpassing then wailing made.</p> <hr/> <p>25. The third lament.</p> <hr/> <p>26. This is (her) abode, this is (her) abode, its secrets who knows?</p> <p>27. The temple of Kēš is (her) abode, its secrets who knows?</p> <p>28. Within it the heroes<sup>7</sup> assemble in order,</p> <p>29. and the decrees proclaimed grandly are executed.</p> <p>30. O temple, fat bulls replenish thee.</p> <p>31. O temple, numerous oxen thou feedest on.</p> <p>32. O temple, numerous sheeps thou feedest on.</p> <p>33. Temple, which . . . . thou art purified.</p> |
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## Col. III.

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| <p>1. <i>bár-bár-e-ne gú-ne ám-ma-gál-li-ne</i></p> <p>2. <i>giš<sup>13</sup>KU-du<sup>13</sup> men<sup>13</sup> an-da-gùr-ru</i></p> | <p>1. They that sit in shrines assemble unto thee.</p> <p>2. Like the <i>box-wood</i> tree thou liftest up thy crown.</p> |
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<sup>1</sup> Var. A omits.<sup>2</sup> Var. A, *gu-ma*; cf. *Poème du Paradis*, 269; perhaps the Semitic is *kāribu*, or *karubu*, Hebrew *kêrûb*, cherub, guardian genius. Note (*gum*) *LUM* = *karābu*, *Voc. Scheil* 42 = BM. 93058 Obv. 6, and LANGDON, *Epic of Creation*, p. 190 n. 3.<sup>3</sup> Var. A, *ga-an*.<sup>4</sup> Vars. A, B, C, *uru in-ga-an*. Cf. RA. 19, 68, 1 *uru-ki na-nam* = *āli-šunu*; *ālu* is employed in these texts in the sense of "cult centre." The emphatic particle *inga*, *ingam* is therefore only an augmented form of *kam*, *gam*, "so it is," &c. See *Sum. Gr.* § 137 and RA. 13, 93 for *anga*, *inga*.<sup>5</sup> Vars. A, C, *a-ba-a* = *mannu*; cf. SBP. 200, 22; PBS. X Pl. 105, 9, *a-ba-a*. *Ibid.* 319, n. 2 is false.<sup>6</sup> Var. A, B, *-bi-a*.<sup>7</sup> Probably the Anunnaki and Igigi. The myth of an assembly of the gods in the hall of assembly, Ušukinnaka, in Ekur of Nippur and Esagila at Babylon is documented; v. AJSL. 39, 172, 20; VAB. IV 126, 54—64; LANGDON, *Epic of Creation*, 174, 51. See Col. III 1. <sup>8</sup> Cf. AJSL. 39, 172, 20; IV R. 12 Rev. 5.<sup>9</sup> Var. A, *é-e*; A, B, *gud-dū-dam*; *LU* = *duššū*, is, therefore, to be read *du*.<sup>10</sup> Var. C, *-ri-en*. *gū-gur* = *gú-gur*, to fill up; cf. BL. 10, 30 = SBH. 123, R. 13; Gudea, Cyl. B 15, 4 &c. See Col. III 17.<sup>11</sup> Vars. A, B, *šár-ra-ám*.<sup>12</sup> This line is placed after l. 30 on A, B, C. A omits *gú-bi*; C has *luš<sup>13</sup>-e*.<sup>13</sup> Var. B, *dam* and *sag*.

3. <sup>gis</sup> A-TU-GAB-LIŠ-gim <sup>1</sup> an-da-PI-PI-sal-la ..... <sup>3</sup>	3. Like the <i>ashe</i> tree, <sup>2</sup> . . . . .
4. ġar-sag-da <sup>4</sup> an-da-sġ-sġ-ga	4. Like the mountains thou art verdant.
5. Keš-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu	5. He like Kêš made surpassing, he the lord is seized away.
6. ur-sag-bi <sup>d</sup> Aš-šir-gim rib-ba ama ši-in-ga- ù-tud	6. Him like its hero, Aššir, made surpassing, the mother bore.
7. <sup>nunus</sup> egi-bi <sup>d</sup> Nin-tur-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er- mu-ni-in-du	7. Its queen like Nintur for him the sur- passing then wailing made.
8. é 4 kam-ma	8. The fourth lament.
9. é piriğ ù-tud šag-bi ur-sag sú-ud	9. Temple, like a lion created, whose secrets like the heroic one <sup>5</sup> are unsearchable.
10. é Keš-(ki) piriğ ù-tud šag-bi ur-sag sú-ud <sup>6</sup>	10. Temple of Kêš, like a lion created, whose secrets like the heroic one are unsearchable.
11. šag-bi <sup>7</sup> ur-sag-ur-sag-e-ne ši-mu-un-nin <sup>8</sup> -si-di	11. Within it the heroes assembled in order;
12. <sup>d</sup> Nin-ġar-sag-gà ušum-gal-ám šag <sup>9</sup> im-mi- in-[]	12. Ninharsag, "him who alone is great" <sup>10</sup> [conceived].
13. <sup>d</sup> Nin-tu-ra ama-gal-la tu-tu-mu-ur-gà-gà <sup>11</sup>	13. Nintur, the great mother, assisted at the childbirth (?).
14. <sup>d</sup> Šul-pa-è-a <sup>12</sup> ši-iššag-ge nam-en-[na ]	14. Šulpaéa, the great priest <sup>13</sup> lordship . . . .
15. <sup>d</sup> Aš-šir ur-sag bizem <sup>14</sup> mu-un-kur . . . . .	15. Aššir, the heroic, fed him from the drink- ing cup . . . . .
16. <sup>d</sup> Uru-maš ligir-gal <sup>15</sup> edin-na mu-un-da-an- .....	16. Urumas, the great prince, on the plains (shepherded) with him.

<sup>1</sup> Var. B, *da*; C, *dam*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. AJSL. 39, 285.<sup>3</sup> A verb is expected here. But cf. *šamR* = *šamarantu*, an aromatic plant, hence perhaps R = *arantu*, perfume, nard? Cf. LANDSBERGER, ZA. 25, 384; HOLMA, *Kleine Beiträge*, 75 n. 2.<sup>4</sup> Var. C adds *mú-a*. This text then takes *an-da sġ-sġ-ga* as a phrase, "Made brilliant like heaven," and for the first half of this line, v. I 15.<sup>5</sup> *ursag* probably refers to the dying god of Kêš, Lillu, or to Enlil.<sup>6</sup> Corresponds to A, Col. III 10.<sup>7</sup> Vars. A, B, *-bi-a*.<sup>8</sup> Written *dInnini*. For *dNannar* employed as a phonetic element, see *Babylonian Wisdom*, 73 n. 1. Note *ši-si-di*, for *si-si-di* on Var. A.<sup>9</sup> Var. A, *šag-ki*.<sup>10</sup> This epithet usually refers to Tammuz. See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 115 n. 2. Cf. the N. Pr. *ú-galu-ša* = *aḫulap wēdim*, *aḫulap mātīm*, CHIERA, PBS. XI 7, VI 22. "The cry of the only one, the dead one."<sup>11</sup> Cf. PBS. X 190, 27.<sup>12</sup> Var. C, Rev. 5 omits *a*.<sup>13</sup> All the variants omit *ši* before *iššag*. The same deity, consort of Nintur (= *dingir maš*) and father of Lillu, is called *iššag-maš* of Adab, RA. 19, 178, 23. For *ši* < *ki* < *ku* = *rahû*, see EBELING, KAR. 73 R. 15, *ši* = *rubātu*.<sup>14</sup> The sign in this text and on Var. C is REC. 92; the sign discussed in JRAS. 1921, 581 n. 4. Vars. A, B, both have a sign similar to AB. In any case the signs on Vars. A, B, C are corruptions of an old sign later identified with PISAN, REC. 429. See also this sign in RA. 18, 73, I 12, clearly the name of a vessel, and PBS. 12 No. 22, 1, a sign similar to AB, clearly identical with REC. 429 and there followed by KA + A. For their confusion with , see AJSL. 31, 282; 33, 48.<sup>15</sup> Var. A, *gal-ám*; B, *gal-la*; C, *gal-e*.





## Col. IV.

1. . . . . (ki)-na-bi la-ġa-ma <sup>1</sup> ki-uš-sa	1. Its . . . . . stands upon the nether-sea.
2. bad-nun-na-bi ab[. . . . . Uri-]ki-ka keš-du	2. Its mighty wall . . . . . <sup>2</sup>
3. Keš-(ki)-ġim riġ-ba [ġalu ši-in]-ġa-an-tám- mu	3. He like Kêš made surpassing, he the lord is seized away.
4. ur-saġ-bi <sup>d</sup> Aš-šir-ġim [riġ-ba] ama ši-in-ġa- ù-tud	4. Him like its hero, Aššir, made surpassing, the mother bore.
5. <sup>nunus</sup> egġi-bi <sup>d</sup> Nin-tu-ra-ġim riġ-ba-ra <sup>3</sup> a-ba er-mu-ni-in-du	5. Its queen like Nintur for the surpassing one then made wailing. <sup>4</sup>
6. é 6 kam-na	6. The sixth lament.
7. é kù-dġb <sup>5</sup> -bi é-nun	7. Of the temple the <i>kudġb</i> is the sanctuary.
8. é Keš-(ki) kù-dġb <sup>5</sup> -bi é-nun	8. Of the temple of Kêš the <i>kudġb</i> is the sanctuary.
9. é <sup>6</sup> en-bi é <sup>7</sup> <sup>d</sup> A-mun-na meš	9. In the temple the Anunnaki are the high priests.
10. nu-éš-bi ġir-lal-kar <sup>8</sup> é-an-na me-eš	10. Its sacrificial priests are the slaughterers of Eanna. <sup>9</sup>
11. é-e ġuġal-bur-ra-ám mi-[in] <sup>10</sup> -ġub	11. In the temple the lord of redemption stands;
12. en duġ-šaġ <sup>11</sup> eše-lal-ám <sup>12</sup> mi-in-lal	12. the lord who rejoices the heart, who looks upon the bound;
13. a-tu-e <sup>13</sup> šibġr šu-be-in-duġ (?) <sup>14</sup>	13. And the (mother) who bore the son holds a wand.

<sup>1</sup> *Laġama*, the female of Laġmu, here represents the *apsû* and is identical with Damkina, wife of Ea. For Laġmu identified with Ea, see my *Epic of Creation*, 68 n. 3 and 78 n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Var. E, Rev. 5 has a different text.

<sup>3</sup> *ra* omitted in my copy.

<sup>4</sup> Var. D begins with line 4.

<sup>5</sup> Vars. A, D, *dġb-bi*; for *KU (di-ib)*, v. Yale Syl. 132.

<sup>6</sup> Vars. A, D, *é-a*.

<sup>7</sup> Vars. A, D omit *é*, which obviously makes no sense here and is a case of dittography.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ameġirġalkarra*, VS. IV 177, 3. Var. D omits *lal-kar*!

<sup>9</sup> Eanna, chief temple of Erech. Note the association of Kêš and Erech, home of the Tammuz cult. Var. B, Rev. II 1, has *me-en* for *me-eš*.

<sup>10</sup> Vars. B, D, *mu-un*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. RA. 16, 91, No. 50, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Vars. A, D omit *ám* and read *nam-mi-in-lal*. Var. B, *mu-un-lal*. This scribe probably intended to write *ám-mi-in-lal*.

<sup>13</sup> *a-tu* is a title of the mother-goddess who wails for Tammuz. Tu.-D., *URUK*, 54 Obv. 21; see also the hymn to Anru of Kêš, JSOR. III, 15, 17. The ideogram probably means *muallidat apli* and refers to the mother of the dying god.

<sup>14</sup> Var. D in RADAU's copy has *duġ* before *in*!

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| <p>14. <i>tu-e</i><sup>1</sup> . . . . .<sup>2</sup> <i>a-ūr</i><sup>3</sup>-<i>a</i> <i>ám-mi-in-gub</i><sup>4</sup></p> <p>15. <i>lál-e ki-kug-ga-ám mi-in-?</i><sup>5</sup></p> <p>16. <i>enkum</i><sup>7</sup>-<i>e-ne</i> ? <i>ki-ám-ma-gál-li-[eš]</i></p> <p>17. <i>pap-šeš-e-ne</i><sup>9</sup> <i>kuš-mu-un-sīg-e-ne</i><sup>10</sup></p> <p>18. <i>šu-šub</i><sup>11</sup> <i>uru-šub-a</i><sup>12</sup> <i>mu-ni-ib-bi-e-ne</i></p> <p>19. <i>si-là(l)-ma</i><sup>13</sup>-<i>ge</i> <i>gig</i><sup>14</sup>-<i>ga</i> <i>mi-ni-ib-za</i><br/>[<i>giš-á-lá-e gù ġu-mi-ni-ib-bi</i>]</p> <p>20. <i>giš-al-sur</i> <i>dár</i><sup>16</sup>-<i>ra</i> <i>sūġ-sūġ</i> <i>mi-ni-ib-za</i></p> <p>21. <i>nar-balag-sil-dug-gi</i> <i>mu-na-tuk-a</i><sup>17</sup></p> <p>22. <i>é al-dū ka-zal-bi al-dug</i></p> <p>23. <i>é Keš-(ki) al-dū ka-zal-bi al-dug</i></p> <p>24. <i>nunus</i><sup>18</sup><i>egi-bi tin-bi-a mu-un-ku</i></p> <p>25. <i>Nin-ġar-sag-gà egi-bi tin-bi-a mu-un-ku</i></p> <p>26. <i>Keš-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu</i></p> <p>27. <i>ur-sag-bi</i> <i>Áš-šir-gim rib-ba ama ši-in-ga-<br/>ù-tud</i></p> | <p>14. O child-bearing mother, a messenger thou sendest.</p> <p>15. The dear one <i>from</i> (?) the clean land<sup>6</sup> thou hast <i>caused to return</i>.</p> <p>16. The <i>enkum</i> priests . . . . .<sup>8</sup> bow down,</p> <p>17. and the "great brothers" are terrified.</p> <p>18. "The <i>prostrate hand</i>," "the grief stricken city," they cry;</p> <p>19. "He that is bound is full of sorrow;" ["On the <i>alû</i>-instrument he wails;"]<sup>15</sup></p> <p>20. "On the sighing lute like . . . . . he (sings) of full sorrows;"</p> <p>21. "On the sweet sounding flute he sings."</p> <p>22. Temple, <i>the beautiful</i>, whose intercession is sweet,</p> <p>23. Temple of Kêš, <i>the beautiful</i>, whose intercession is sweet,<sup>18</sup></p> <p>24. Its queen in its . . . . . reposes.</p> <p>25. Ninharsag, its queen in its . . . . . reposes.</p> <p>26. He like Kêš made surpassing, he the lord is seized away.</p> <p>27. Him like its hero, Aššir, made surpassing, the mother bore.</p> |
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<sup>1</sup> Var. D, *a*.<sup>2</sup> Vars. A, D have no signs here.<sup>3</sup> Sign is *ūr*. RADAU's copy of D has *kin*, which is preferable.<sup>4</sup> Vars. A, B, *mu-e-gub*; D, *ám-mu-e-gub*.<sup>5</sup> Var. D omits *ám* and has *nam-mi-in-?*; A, *ni-?*. Last sign may be *TU*.<sup>6</sup> Probably a reference to the lower-world. Note that Var. A has *ašag*, field, before *ki*.<sup>7</sup> See AJSL. 39, 164 n. 11 and *Poème du Paradis*, 224, 29.<sup>8</sup> The missing sign before *ki* is preserved on Var. D, Rev. 17, but it is not identifiable in RADAU's copy. Between lines 15—16, Var. B has: . . . . . *e-ne ka* . . . . . *ám*.<sup>9</sup> *pap-šeš* designates an order of the priesthood; loan-word *pašišu*. See POEBEL, OLZ. 1915, 134 and AJSL. 35, 136, 5 *pa-ši-šu* = *pap-šeš* (= l. 1, *guda* = *aġu rabû*); cf. *pap-šeš* = *aġu rabû*, RA. 10, 70, 33. Here *papšeš* is a title of certain gods. As title of Nergal, RA. 9, 122, 4; of Ninurta, SBP. 228, 36; V Raw. 44 III 36. Var. A omits l. 17.<sup>10</sup> *zumru unarraġu*, PBS. 12 No. 6, R. 14. Var. B, *sīg-gi-ne*.<sup>11</sup> The epithet certainly refers to Tammuz or Lillu. Cf. the Tammuz hymn, BE. 30, No. 1 II 20, *šu-ba-šub-ba-ni* = Nies Collection, Vol. II 26, 16. Cf. *šu-su*, said of Tammuz, RA. 12, 37, 25.<sup>12</sup> Cf. *uru-šub-ba*, PBS. X 253, 7; *ūr-šub-mu*, IV R. 11 b 49; *ūr-šub-ba*, RADAU, *Miscel.* 13 IV 7 and so read BE. 29, No. 1 IV 20. Vars. A, D omit *a*.<sup>13</sup> *si-lam* = *limûu*, BL. No. 8, 5; *si-laġ*, *simlaġ*, bondage, RA. 19, 179, 18—19; 180, 25—6.<sup>14</sup> Text has *LUM*; also Var. D; but Vars. A, B, *gig-ga*.<sup>15</sup> Only on Var. D. Var. B omits ll. 20—21.<sup>16</sup> The Var. D 22 has a much different form of the sign and the assimilation is uncertain. For *sur* after the instrument *al-gar*, v. AJSL. 39, 168 n. 8. On the *al* instrument, cf. PBS. X 187—189.<sup>17</sup> Line omitted by A, B. For the verb, D has *si-ġa-ni-ib-di*, "he produces correctly sweet sound."<sup>18</sup> Var. B omits this line.

28. <i>nunus</i> <i>egi-bi</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-tu-ra-gim</i> <i>rib-ba-ra a-ba</i> <i>er-mu-ni-in-du</i>	28. Its queen like Nintur for the surpassing one then wailing made.
29. <i>é</i> 7 <i>kam-ma</i>	29. The seventh lament.
30. <i>uru</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>šú</i> <i>uru-šú galu te-ám te</i>	30. Unto the holy place, unto the holy place, O lord, come nigh, come nigh.
31. <i>é</i> <i>Keš-(ki)</i> <i>uru-šú galu te-ám te</i>	31. Unto the temple of Kêš, the holy place, O lord, come nigh, come nigh.
32. <i>ur-sag-bi</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Aš-šir-[šú]</i> <sup>2</sup>	32. Unto its hero, Aššir, O lord, come nigh, come nigh.
33. <i>nunus</i> <i>egi-bi</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-tu-ra-šú galu te-ám te</i>	33. Unto its queen, Nintur, O lord, come nigh, come nigh.
34. <i>Keš-(ki)</i> <i>dū-a</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Aš-šir zag-sal</i>	34. In Kêš, the <i>beautiful</i> , praise Aššir.
35. <i>Keš-(ki)</i> <i>zag-sal-ám</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-tu-ra zag-sal</i>	35. Praise Kêš; praise Nintur. <sup>3</sup>
36. <i>é</i> 8 <i>kam-ma</i>	36. The eighth lament.

<sup>1</sup> *uru*, city, but also cult-centre, consecrated place.<sup>2</sup> Omitted here. Var. A, *-gi-šú*.<sup>3</sup> The eighth strophe is parallel to the eighth strophe of the Tammuz liturgy, SBP. 340, where the refrain is *te-mu-e dē-en-tíg*, O approach and rest.



## H. WELD-BLUNDELL COLLECTION, VOL. I.

Museum Number	Plates	Description
2	17	Clay cone. See pp. 20—22. A duplicate in the Field Museum restores the Name of the wife of Rim-Sin, which should be read <i>Si-ma-at-<sup>a</sup>Innini</i> . Another wife of Rim-Sin was <i>Rim-Sin-<sup>a</sup>Šala-bašta-šu</i> , daughter of Sinmagir, on a tablet now in the Yale Collection and formerly noted by POEBEL, PBS. IV 140. See L. W. KING, <i>History of Babylon</i> , p. 156 n. 3. A seal reproduced by DELITZSCH, <i>Handel und Wandel</i> , p. 27, is inscribed with the name of a third wife, <i>Be-el-ta-ni</i> , daughter of <i>?-an-nu-um</i> . In line 24 the Var. has <i>zi-ga</i> .
5	23—28	Barrel cylinder of Nabonidus. See pp. 32—37.
6	18	Clay cone. See pp. 23—4.
7+8	31	Clay cone of Samsuiluna, duplicate of PBS. V 101. See POEBEL in OLZ. 1915, 106—111 and 129—135.
9	22	Scholar's tablet. See pp. 27—31.
10	20—21	Cult tablet. See pp. 25—27.
160	10—12	Prism. Hymn to Enlil-bani. See pp. 11—15.
161	1—4	Prism. A hymn of Eridu. Edited in AJSL., Vol. 39, 161—173.
162	5—9	Prism. Legend of early Erech. See pp. 1—10.
169	13—16	Prism. Incantation text. See pp. 16—19.
170	32—35	Prism. Religious-epical composition dedicated to the god Sin in the superscription.
171	39—41	Prism. Hymn to the deified ruler Dungi. See pp. 42—47.
186	36—39	Large thin tablet. Hymn to Nidaba. See pp. 39—42.
183	30	Stamped brick with inscription on the face.
188	30	Fragment of a large thin clay slab. <i>Ḳalat Šhergât</i> .
190	29	Inscribed brick of Ašur-eṭil-ilāni. See pp. 37—8.
192	29	Inscribed brick of Nebuchadnezzar. See p. 37.
195	30	Right end of a Neo-Babylonian barrel cylinder.
198	29	Brick stamp of Ašurbanipal.
199	29	Brick stamp of <sup>a</sup> Šul-ma-nu-ašarid, son of Ašur-našir-apli.
David Prism	42—45	Perfect four sided prism in possession of the dealer E. S. DAVID. Liturgy of Kêš. See pp. 48—59.
Stevenson Collection	19	Single column tablet presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Col. KR. STEVENSON. Probably contains a mythical text.

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Col. IV

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[illegible][illegible]





## Col. II

30 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒





*Col. IV*

[illegible]



Col. IV

15 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑





## Col. II

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 三  
 四  
 五  
 六  
 七  
 八  
 九  
 十  
 十一  
 十二  
 十三  
 十四  
 十五  
 十六  
 十七  
 十八  
 十九  
 二十  
 二十一  
 二十二  
 二十三  
 二十四  
 二十五  
 二十六  
 二十七  
 二十八  
 二十九  
 三十





*Col. IV*

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15  
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34



## Col. VI

5  
來王女頂 重下上  
受 仁 重  
受 重 珍 三  
10 令 开 平 山  
重 簪 文 解  
重 重 天  
重 人 金 来 小  
重 山 金 受 王  
15 重 今 重  
王 重  
受 五 来 重 用 參

重 參 山 女  
王 王 王 王 會 參 山  
會 山 山 山 山 山 山 山 會





















Col. IV

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 18 𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵

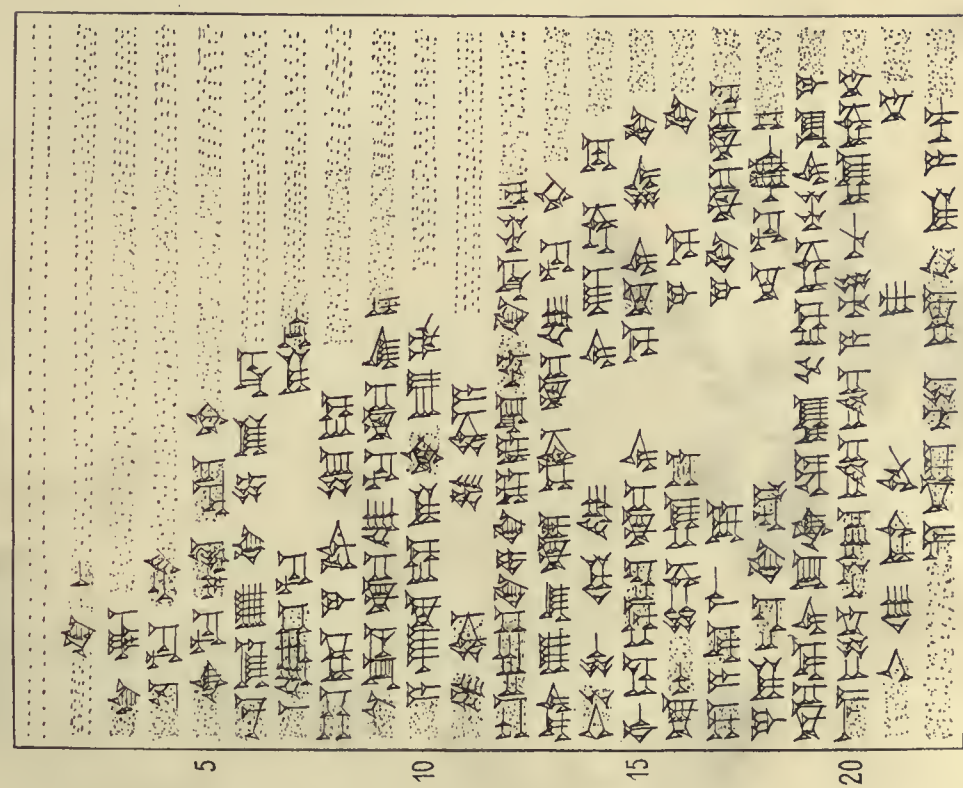




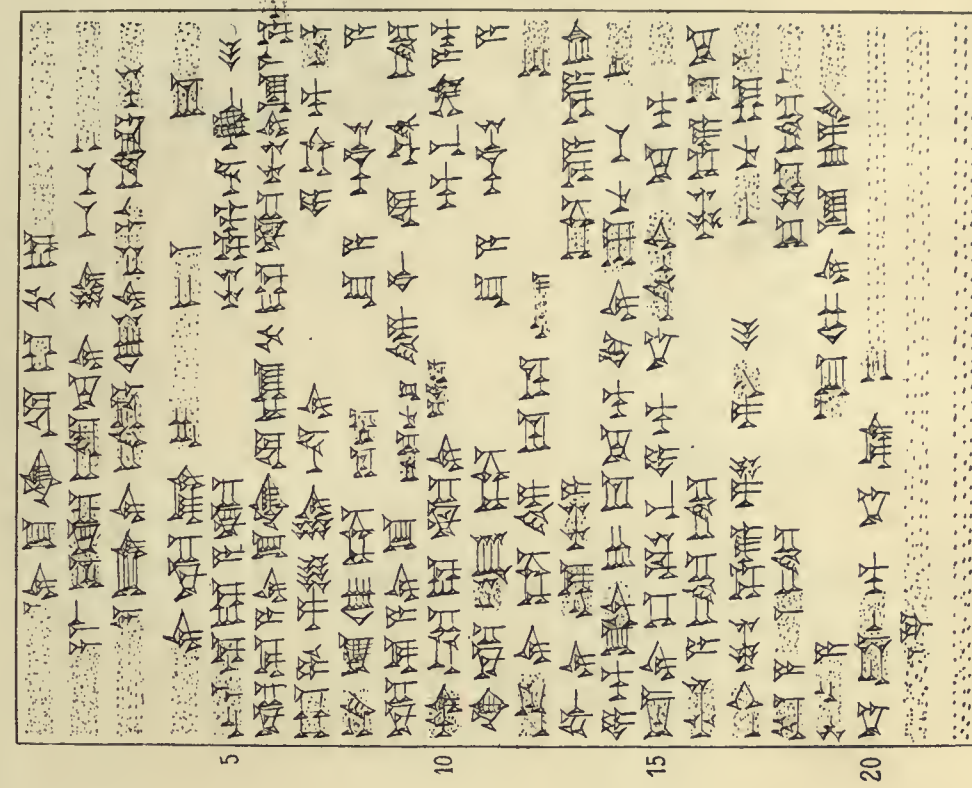
*(This page contains dense handwritten Chinese characters arranged in vertical columns, likely representing musical notation or lyrics.)*



Obverse



Reverse







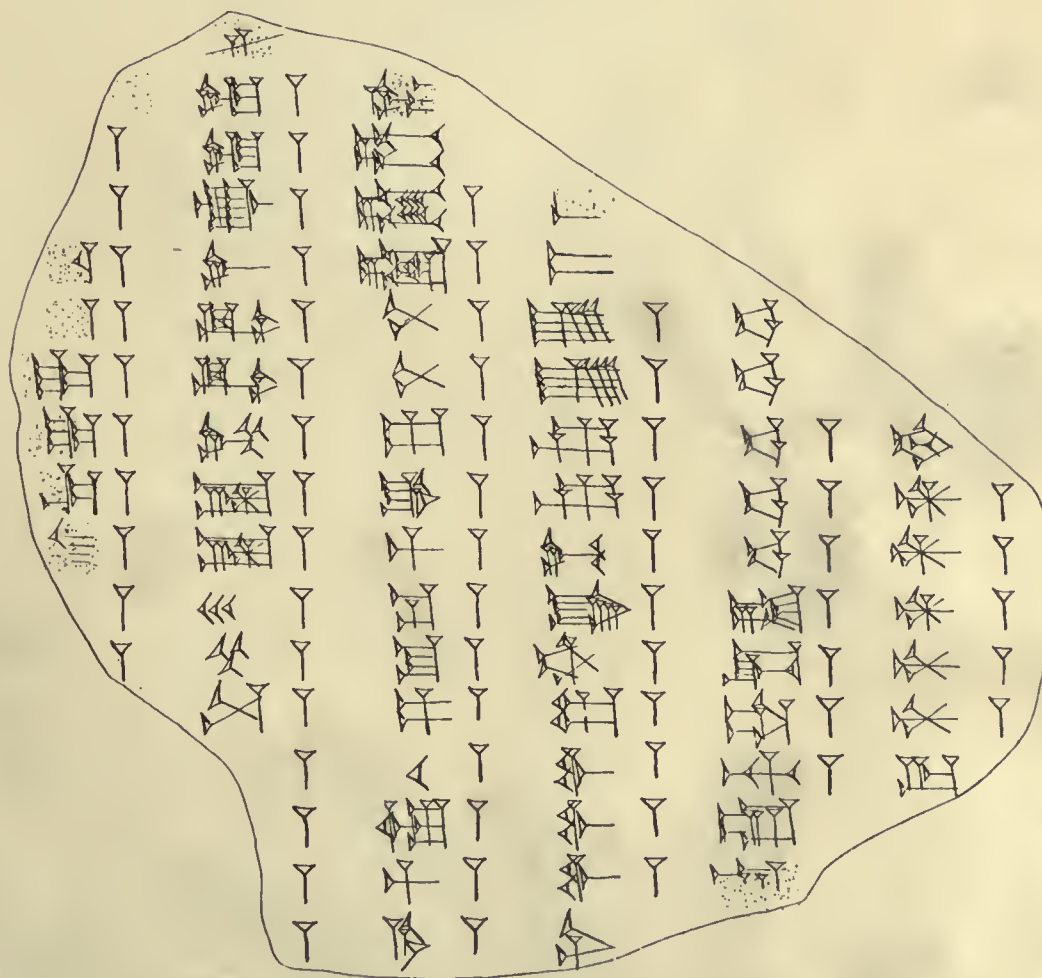
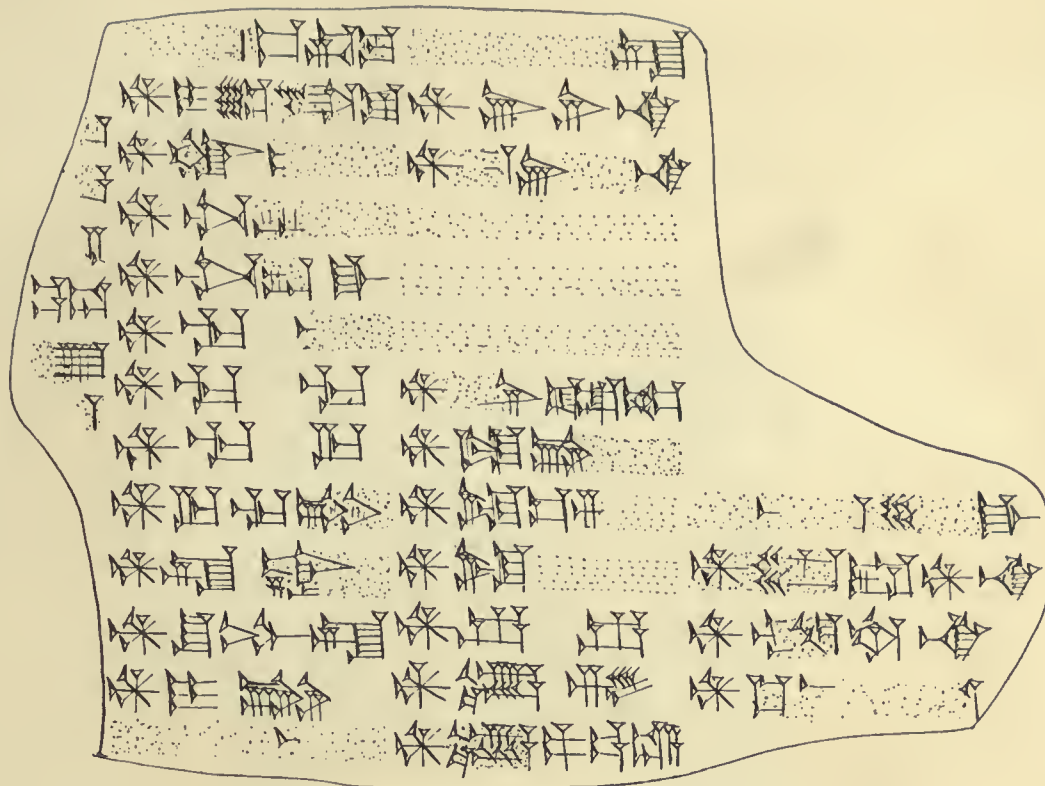
5	...	...
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35	...	...
40	...	...
45	...	...















Col. I

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## Col. I

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## Col. II

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## Col. II

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## Col. III

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## Col. III

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Handwritten Chinese characters on lined paper, showing various forms of the character '王' (king) and its variations.





W.-B. 199

[illegible]

W.-B. 198

[illegible]

W.-B. 192

[illegible]





[illegible]

W.-B. 1922, 188

[illegible]

W.-B. 1922, 183

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Col. IV

Faint traces of Col. III here





*Col. I*

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*Col. IV*

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W.-B. 171  
Col. IV

Col. IV

W.-B. 171  
Col. IV

44




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





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趙今張父父












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五世祖













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











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









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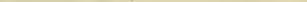
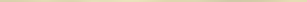
金剛般若經

米金王世昌

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五 金

29 采蓮圖 卷五十五 全

A little









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# OXFORD EDITIONS OF CUNEIFORM TEXTS

Edited under the Direction of S. LANGDON, Professor of Assyriology.

## VOLUME II

The Weld-Blundell Collection, vol. II.

Historical Inscriptions, Containing Principally the  
Chronological Prism, W-B. 444,

by S. LANGDON, M. A.

192549  
21/11/24

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen  
New York Toronto Melbourne Cape Town  
Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai

Humphrey Milford

1923

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Edited under the direction of J. E. Sandys, F.R.S., F.R.E.

VOLUME II

The *Wald-Blindes* Collection, vol. II.

Historical Inscriptions, containing fragments of the

Epigraphical Series, W-B. 444.

By J. SANDYS, F.R.S.

1875

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
Printed by the University Press, Oxford  
1875



## PREFACE.

The fortunate discovery of the entire chronological tables of early Sumerian and Babylonian history provides ample reason for a separate volume of the Weld-Blundell Series, and the immediate publication of this instructive inscription is imperative. It constitutes the most important historical document of its kind ever recovered among cuneiform records. The Collection of the Ashmolean Museum contains other historical records which I expected to include in this volume, notably the building inscriptions of Kish, excavated during the first year's work of the Oxford and Field Museum Expedition. MR. WELD-BLUNDELL who supports this expedition on behalf of The University of Oxford rightly expressed the desire to have his dynastic prism prepared for publication before the writer leaves Oxford to take charge of the excavations at Oheimer (Kish) the coming winter. This circumstance necessitates the omission of a considerable number of historical texts, which must be left over for a future volume. I wish also that many of the far reaching problems raised by the new dynastic prism might have received more mature discussion.

The most vital problem, concerning which I am at present unable to decide, namely the date of the first Babylonian dynasty, demands at least special notice some-where in this book. The reader is earnestly requested to remember that the dates given for the entire chronology of ancient Sumer and Accad necessarily rest upon the point from which the calculations begin, namely the year of the foundation of the first dynasty by Sumu-abu. In this book I have accepted the year 2225 for the beginning of the reign of Sumu-abu and 2357 for the beginning of the Isin dynasty. This date was taken from the astronomical calculations of FATHER KUGLER, S. J., in his astonishingly brilliant interpretation of the tablet of observations of the morning and evening appearances and disappearances of the planet Venus for the 21 years of the reign of Ammizaduga, tenth king of the first dynasty<sup>1</sup>. The tablet actually preserves observations for 21 years of the reign of Ammizaduga. Now in this text after the observation, "In Adar (12<sup>th</sup> month) Venus disappeared in the east on the 25<sup>th</sup> day, [two months and 16 days she delayed in heaven and in the month Sivan, on the eleventh day, she was seen in the west],"<sup>2</sup> the tablet has the year date for the *eighth* year of Ammizaduga. Therefore, KUGLER was able to assign each of the observations above and below this date to the year of Ammizaduga in which it occurred. One of these observations namely that of the *sixth* year offered the best *data* for an astronomical calculation. Here (in lines 14-15 of VIROLLEAUD, *Ishtar*, XII) the tablet has, "In the month Arahsamnu (8<sup>th</sup> month) on the 28<sup>th</sup> day Venus disappeared in the west, *three* days she delayed in heaven and rose in the east on the first of Kislev." KUGLER's fine astronomical training shewed him at once that this observation would enable him to determine the years of the period

<sup>1</sup> F. X. KUGLER, S. J., *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Vol. II 257-311. The text (K. 160) of these astronomical observations was first published in III Raw. 63 and a partial duplicate (K. 2321) was published by J. A. CRAIG, *Astrological and Astronomical Texts*, Pl. 46. These two texts were then combined and published by CHAS. VIROLLEAUD, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne, Ishtar*, Nos XII-XV. For a criticism of VIROLLEAUD's re-arrangement of these texts, see KUGLER, *ibid.* p. 266 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See the restoration by KUGLER, *ibid.*, p. 272.



within which Ammizaduga must have reigned<sup>1</sup>, for this observation implies the occurrence of a *new moon* between the western setting and eastern rising of Venus, and the short period of *three* days darkness also confined the possibilities of a similar situation to few chances.

Now I am convinced after long study of the texts and repeated discussion with the Oxford astronomer DR. FOTHERINGHAM, that any date assigned to the first dynasty must satisfy the astronomical calculations based upon this tablet. It is worth more than all the vague general reckonings of the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. Until we find chronological lists, which give the lengths of all the missing reigns between the end of the first dynasty and the fourth dynasty, dogmatic statements on dating Hammurabi and Sumu-abu are worthless. KUGLER found by calculating from the observation of the 3 days' darkness of Venus at the time of the new moon in the sixth year of Ammizaduga that, in 1972-1 BC., the conjunction of the Moon and Sun occurred only a few hours before the inferior conjunction of the Sun and Venus. FOTHERINGHAM tells me that KUGLER did not use the best values for the acceleration of the Sun and Moon and consequently KUGLER's estimate of  $+0.16$  should be turned into a small minus value on page 285 of *Sternkunde*<sup>2</sup>. This means that the new moon was actually seen about two days after the inferior conjunction of Venus. The calculation resulted in fixing the beginning of the reign of Ammizaduga in 1977 and the beginning of the first dynasty in 2225. This calculation made that particular year begin April 18<sup>th</sup> (Gregorian). KUGLER found several other dates in this period when the inferior conjunction of Venus occurred at the time of the new moon, and among these he thought 2036-5 or 1852-1 most probable. The former date which is 64 years earlier is obviously out of consideration for it not only brings the beginning of the year too late, well into May (Gregorian calendar), but it is too high for even the Babylonian inter-periodic dead reckonings of Nabonidus and the Cassite inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> This leaves only the year 1852-1 or 119 years later for a choice which would bring the beginning of the year about March 22<sup>nd</sup>.

KUGLER decided for 1972-71, in his original study but in 1922 in his book *Von Moses bis Paulus*, p. 497 he accepts the date 1796-5 for the occurrence of this observation, which places the beginning of the year about March 5. He has thus lowered the entire chronology by 176 years, thus agreeing approximately with WEIDNER's low dates, 2057-1758, for the first dynasty, KUGLER 2049-1750. KUGLER has made his latest choice because he finds that the gathering of dates in this period occurs regularly in *Tešrit* (seventh month) or *Araḫšamnu* (eight month); or at any rate renter and owner divided the dates then. This season would be much too late for the date harvest in August-September unless the year began in March. He also felt the difficulty presented by certain contracts for renting fields in the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> months which would be in Nov.-Dec., if the year began late in April as presumed by the choice of the year 1972-1 for the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Ammizaduga.

<sup>1</sup> He chose 2080-1740, and the choice is in fact even more restricted by the resulting dates for the beginning of the New Year. The choice of dates for the observation must in any case yield a date for the beginning of the year between March 1<sup>st</sup> and May 1<sup>st</sup>. In fact any date below 1795 would bring the beginning of the year before March 5<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See FOTHERINGHAM's article «*Solution of Ancient Eclipses of the Sun*», in *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Von Moses bis Paulus*, (1922) KUGLER on page 497 states that an inscription of Nabonidus, first noticed by PROFESSOR SCHEIL, places Rim-Sin's sister 1500 years before Nabonidus. But this inscription now published by PROFESSOR CLAY, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 45, makes no mention of the number 1500. In fact SCHEIL did not say that this number stands in the text.

It seems to me hazardous to shift the entire chronology 176 years on the basis of these contracts, for surely the division of a crop might take place some time after the harvest and the contracts for renting fields may not depend on the autumn ploughing and sowing season at all. At any rate the year 1796-5 now preferred by KUGLER must be given up, for DR. FOTHERINGHAM's calculations make this date impossible astronomically. He says that in 1796-5 B-C. the latitude of Venus was too small (2-3 degrees) to permit of a period of only 3 days of darkness for this planet. KUGLER's calculations for 1972-1 make the latitude 8 degrees and this agrees admirably with the period of three days of darkness. In the presence of these authoritative calculations there seems to be no reason at present for disturbing the chronological system adopted in my book. The other choice 1852-1 for the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Ammizaduga is ruled out by FOTHERINGHAM for the following reasons. In the first place his calculations for the accelerations of Sun and Moon make the conjunction of the Moon on December 19.45 (Greenwich time), and the visible new moon on Dec. 21.1. Venus then was seen in the east on Dec. 21.6 and her western setting took place Dec. 18.1 which is too close to her inferior conjunction to allow of her being seen at all in the west in the evening, with her latitude of only 4 degrees. FOTHERINGHAM believes, however, that the reckoning C 1 in KUGLER's table, p. 285, or the year 1916-15 is possible and this would reduce the chronology by 56 years.

There is, therefore, every reason for leaving this problem in suspense at present. According to the most authoritative chronological mathematician in England the low dates adopted by KUGLER are untenable. The dates accepted in this volume are now regarded by FOTHERINGHAM as 56 years too high, and the reader is requested to bear in mind that a reduction of a half century may be necessary<sup>1</sup>. The dates adopted here are in any case the maximum but a little reduction may be expected.

At the moment of going to press I learn from DR. WEIDNER that he has discovered in the Berlin Collection another dynastic tablet which begins in the earliest period and ends with Dungi. On this tablet certain famous rulers are especially noticed on the Reverse. It says that Ur-Ilbaba ordered his cup-bearer Sargon to bring the wine of libation from Esagila. From this WEIDNER argues that Ur-Ilbaba was a contemporary of Sargon. But legendary notices of this kind are not very trustworthy. WEIDNER wishes to make the Akšak dynasty, Kish IV and Lugalzaggisi all contemporary, thus reducing the pre-Sargonic dates by about 100 years.

S. LANGDON, Oxford, Nov. 14<sup>th</sup> 1923.

<sup>1</sup> FOTHERINGHAM after calculations now maintains that only the year 1916-15 is possible for the sixth year of Ammizaduga. He says that by introducing his values for the apparent acceleration of the Sun and assuming a proportionate acceleration for Venus, Venus was not visible in the evening of the 3<sup>d</sup> day before the new moon on the first of Kislev, 1972-1. In other words in the evening of Jan. 5<sup>th</sup> (Gregorian) Venus was not visible, if the new moon were seen Jan. 8<sup>th</sup>. He finds that only the astronomical year — 1914 (1915 B.C.) is possible. « The moon was first visible Dec. 21<sup>st</sup> and Venus was still visible in the west Dec. 18<sup>th</sup> and visible again in the east Dec. 22<sup>nd</sup>, reckoning the days from midnight to midnight, i. e., four nights of invisibility, for by *three days' darkness*, the Babylonians meant three days reckoning from sun-set to sun-set for one day ». The quotation is taken from the statement of this able astronomer. He now states definitely that 1922-1 alone satisfies the astronomical tablet, and makes that year begin about March 31<sup>st</sup> (Gregorian). His calculations are of very great importance, for they prove that the recent tendency to lower the chronology by 168 or 176 years is not possible.



24

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## THE SUMERO-ACCADIAN SYSTEM OF LEGENDARY AND HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY.

(W-B., 1923, 444.)

In the Cuneiform Collection founded and supported by Mr. H. WELD-BLUNDELL for the Ashmolean Museum I have found a large perforated prism which carries two columns of closely written text on each of its four faces. It purports to give the dynastic lists of the kings of Sumer and Accad from the ante-diluvian period to the end of the reign of Sin-magir, thirteenth king of Isin. It is in reality a complete duplicate of the same chronological scheme written on one huge tablet (in 12 columns) from Nippur, which PROFESSOR ARNO POEBEL published in *Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum*, Philadelphia, Vol. V No. 2. The Nippur tablet was fragmentary, and although DR. LEON LEGRAIN succeeded in joining a large fragment to the Poebel fragment (PBS. Vol. 13, No. 1), the real nature of the document could not be detected. Undoubtedly this Nippur tablet also carried the entire chronological system preserved on W. B. 1923, 444. P. No. 2 was written immediately after the 159<sup>th</sup> year of the dynasty of Isin; that tablet agrees with P. No. 5 in that it did not omit the 10<sup>th</sup> king of Isin who reigned only 6 months. For the summary at the end says that it was written in the reign of the 11<sup>th</sup> king, which must be Enlil-bani; for if the 24 years of Enlil-bani be included as the 10<sup>th</sup> king, the total to the end of his reign is 179 years. On W-B. 444, Enlil-bani is the 10<sup>th</sup> king, for this text omits the short reign of the 10<sup>th</sup> king on P. No. 5.

The Nippur tablet P. No. 2 was, therefore, written in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> year of Enlil-bani or about 42 years before W-B. 444. Small fragments of three other large tablets with similar complete chronological records were discovered in the Nippur Collection and published by POEBEL, *ibid.*, Nos. 3, 4, 5. The Reverse of No. 5 was first published by HILPRECHT, B. E. 20, No. 47. From the summaries on P. Nos. 2 and 4 it is evident that these four huge Nippur tablets began immediately after the Flood and did not include the pre-diluvian kings. For these tablets state that the list contained the names of *eleven* cities, and in fact eleven different cities were the capitols of Sumer and Accad *after* the Flood, beginning with Kish. But W-B. 444 and W-B. 62, published in JRAS. 1923, 256, both begin the system of chronology with the pre-diluvian kings and both were written at Ellasar. These include 5 and 6 other cities which never became the seat of an historical dynasty and hence the Nippurian chronology probably did not have the pre-diluvian kings. The Nippurian theologians regarded the pre-diluvian period as an Utopian age, and their views are represented in the Epical poems on the Flood and Paradise published by POEBEL, PBS. V, No. 1, and by myself in *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*. On the other hand the Ellasar texts regard the pre-diluvian period as profane history. W. B. 62 is a small tablet containing only the period before the Flood and agrees with Berossus and Hebrew tradition in the number of 10 kings or patriarchs who lived before the Deluge. W-B. 444 has only 8 ante-diluvian kings, the two last kings, Aradgin and his son Ziûsuddu who reigned at Šuruppak, are omitted, and in their place this prism has only a brief reference to the Flood. This would seem to imply that at Ellasar the Flood was regarded as a long geological period equal to 22.800 years (Aradgin) + 36.000 years (Ziûsuddu) = 58.800 years. WB 62

At any rate it is difficult to understand why the Blundell Prism omits all reference to the well known Babylonian Noah, Ziūsuddu (Sisythes), who built his boat at Šuruppak and escaped destruction in this manner. A comparative table of these three sources now known will present the problem in clear light.

W-B. 444			W-B. 62.		
NAME.	PLACE.	YEARS.	NAME.	PLACE.	YEARS.
1. Alulim	Eridu	28800	1. A-lulim	Ḫabur	67200
2. Alagar	"	36000	2. Alagar	"	72000
3. Enmenluanna	Badtibira	43200	3. ....kidunnu-šakinkin	Ellasar	72000
4. Enmengalanna	"	28800	4. ....uk ? ku ?	"	21600
5. Dumuzi-sib	"	36000	5. Dumuzi-sib	Badtibira	28800
6. Ensibzianua	Larak	28800	6. Enmenluanna	"	21600
7. Enmenduranna	Sippar	21000	7. Ensibzianna	Larak	36000
8. Ubardudu	Šuruppak	18600	8. Enmenduranna	Sippar	72000
		241200	9. Arad-gin	Šuruppak	28800
			10. Ziūsuddu	"	36000
					456000

BEROSSUS		
NAME.	PLACE.	YEARS.
1. Alorus	Babylon	36000. (1)
2. Alaparos	"	10800. (2)
3. Amēlōn	Pantibiblus	46800. (3)
4. Ammenōn	"	43200. (4)
5. Megalaros	"	64800.
6. Daōnos	"	36000. (5)
7. Euedōrachos	"	64800. (7)
8. Amempsinos	Larak	36000. (6)
9. Opartes	"	28800.
10. Xisuthros	[Šuruppak]	64800.
		432000.

Berossus and the Blundell Prism do not mention Ellasar, and this city is also not among the ante-diluvian cities of the Nippurian Epic of Creation<sup>1</sup>. Moreover the two kings assigned to Ellasar on W-B. 62 cannot be identified with any of those in the other lists. Ḫabur is only an epithet of Eridu, and Berossus, writing under Babylonian tradition, substituted Babylon for Eridu. It is certain that the original tradition had Alulim and Alagar as the first two kings at Eridu and these are Alorus and Alaparos of the Greek. In Alagar the *gamma* was corrupted to *pe* in the text of Berossus. It is also certain that Badtibira was the second city, that Ensibzianna belongs to Larak and that his name was corrupted to *Amempsinos*. Larak was clearly the *third* city. Sippar was

<sup>1</sup> See JRAS. 1923, 253. POEBEL, PBS. V, No. 1.



obviously the fourth city falsely replaced by Pantibiblus (Badtibira) in Berossus, and its king Euedorachus is Enmenduranna of the two Sumerian sources. Dumuzi-sib was the last of three kings at Badtibira and corresponds to *Daōnus* of Berossus. Now *Daōnos* is called a shepherd in the Greek text<sup>1</sup> and Dumuzi-sib means "Tammuz the shepherd". A variant of the Greek is *Daōs* and this is probably a corruption of *Damu-zi*<sup>2</sup>.

Enmenluanna was the *first* king at Badtibira and W-B. 62 has transposed Dumuzi-sib and Enmenluanna. He corresponds to the very corrupt name *Amelōn* of the Greek. Less corrupt is *Almelon* of Eusebius (Aramean) and *Amillaros* of Abydenus. Enmengalanna the second king of Badtibira was corrupted to *Ammenōn* by omission of the element *gal*. Enmenanna is *Ammenōn*. This name is omitted in W-B. 62 whose two kings at Ellasar are an insertion by the scribes of that city. This leaves Megalaros of Pantibiblus unexplained. It cannot correspond to either of the two names inserted on W-B. 62 for Ellasar, and since Berossus obviously utilized a list current at Babylon, the name must depend upon some other corrupt tradition. The original list was, therefore ;—

1. Alulim	1. Alorus.
2. Alagar	2. Alaparos.
3. Enmenluanna <sup>3</sup>	3. Amēlōn.
4. Enmen(gal)anna	4. Ammenōn.
5. Dumuzi-sib	5. Daōs.
6. Ensibzianna	6. Amempsinos.
7. Enmenduranna	7. Euedorachos.
8. Uhardudu	8. Opartes.
9. Aradgin	9. Ardates. <sup>4</sup>
10. Ziūsuddu	10. Sisyses. <sup>5</sup>

Of the 23 kings of Kish who reigned after the Flood all but two are preserved with the exception of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> names which are partially preserved. The lengths of their reigns are naturally mythical, and the huge total of 24,510 years 3 months and 3 days is probably due to an astronomical calculation of the so called "World-year", or period of 25,920 years of the sun's apparent revolution through the 12 signs of the zodiac. "The precession of the equinoxes, or slow motion of the earth's axis, in consequence of which the intersection of the equator with the ecliptic travels along the latter" at the rate of 1 degree in 72 years, causes this apparent revolution of the sun.<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to discover any similar computation in the figures given

<sup>1</sup> See *Poème du Paradis*, 129.

<sup>2</sup> Tammuz is reduced to *Du-'uz* already in late Babylonian and was pronounced *Taūz* by the Sabeans of Harran in the Middle Ages. See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 2 n. 3. See also E. BURROWS, *Orientalia*, VII, 55. SAYCE suggests that the original Greek was ΔΑΩΖΟΣ, corrupted to ΔΑΩΝΟΣ which is very probable.

<sup>3</sup> WEIDNER has discovered the names of the ante-diluvian kings on an Assur tablet, and I understand that this name appears as *Am-me-lu-an-na* there. This removes the last suggestion of any Semitic name in the list. *Amēlōn* is not the Semitic *amēlu*. In the Assur list *Zi-ū-sud-du* is written *Zi-sud-da*.

<sup>4</sup> Preserved only by Alexander Polyhistor. See JRAS. 1923, 259 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See JRAS. 1923, 259 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> SIR ROBERT BALL, *A Popular Guide to the Heavens*, p. 56. If this period assigned to the first historical dynasty be based upon the great solar cycle it must be assumed that the Sumerians discovered the precession of the equinoxes, an extremely doubtful assumption. KUGLER, *Sternkunde* II 24-32 denies that this discovery was known even in the age of the best Babylonian astronomy.



for the pre-diluvian period. The 66 *sars* of years or 241,200 years assigned to this period by W-B. 444 corresponds roughly to 12 "World-years"; the 120 *sars* of Berossus and the 126  $\frac{2}{3}$  *sars* of W-B. 62 correspond roughly to 24 "World-years", and this may conceivably be the original calculation.

There is no reference at all in the two Sumerian sources <sup>to</sup> of the four or five mythical beings who arose from the sea to reveal mysteries and wisdom to man during the long pre-diluvian period.<sup>1</sup> Berossus at any rate knew of this Babylonian tradition, and he gave the following account of it. In the time of Ammenōn (= Enmengalanna), the second king of Badtibira, appeared from the Erythraean sea,<sup>2</sup> the impure (μυσταρον sic!) Ōannēs, the Annēdōtos, after about 40 *sars*.<sup>3</sup> On W-B. 444 the first four kings include 38 *sars* and the first four of Berossus also include exactly 38 *sars*. But Alexander Polyhistor reports Berossus to have placed this appearance in the "first year" and Abydenus places the second appearance of Annēdōtos in the time of Ammēnon. According to Apollodorus the fourth Annēdōtus appeared in the time of Daōnos the sixth king, in reality the fifth king, and again "another personage" appeared in the time of the seventh king Euedōrachos, and his name was Ōdakōn. Apollodorus then reports five mythical monsters who appeared during the times of the 4-7 kings.

Abydenus<sup>4</sup> who obviously agreed with Alexander Polyhistor in placing the first appearance of Ōannēs-Annēdōtos in the first year of Alulim (Alorus) says that a second Annēdōtos appeared in the time of Amillaros (= Amelon) or the third king. In the time of Daōs (Daōnos, Dumuzi-sib) the sixth king (correct to fifth) appeared four similar monsters from the sea, Euedōkos, Eneugamos, Eneuboulos, and Anēmentos. The fourth appearance of a monster came in the age of the seventh king and his name was Anōdaphos.<sup>5</sup>

Alexander Polyhistor who places the first appearance of Ōannēs, "the Annēdotos" of the other sources, at the beginning of the era, summarizes the three or four later appearances in the words: "After this there appeared other creatures like this (Ōannēs)". The monster is consistently described in the three sources of Berossus as a creature having the shape of a fish blended with that of a man. "The body was that of a fish and under the fish's head he had another head and feet below like those of a man. He came up out of the sea by day and taught men letters, sciences and art of every kind. He revealed to man the origin of the universe and wrote concerning politics. Since the times of his revelations nothing has been discovered worth knowing". Since the original sources make no mention of Ōannēs nor of any of his epithets, Annēdōtus, Ōdakōn, Euedōkos, etc., and since it is totally impossible to reconstruct the ante-diluvian figures into any intelligible scheme, we must be content with the one fact which emerges from these discoveries. The beginning of history is placed at Eridu, the city of the water god Ea (Enki), god of wisdom and mysteries. He is clearly identical with Ōannēs-Annēdōtos, and his symbol on monuments is the composite creature the *suhurmašu* or goat fish.<sup>6</sup> Sumerian tradition traced the origins of civilisation to Eridu and its patron deity.

<sup>1</sup> See the text of Berossus in Apollodorus, CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, 30-31 and ZIMMERN's discussion in *KLt*<sup>1</sup> 530-539; Berossus in Alexander Polyhistor, CORY, *ibid.*, 21-23.

<sup>2</sup> The "red sea"; here the Persian Gulf. See my *Babylonian Epic of Creation*, p. 146 n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The *sar* is 3600.

<sup>4</sup> Text in CORY, *ibid.*, 32-4.

<sup>5</sup> Apollodorus has here Ōdakōn; obviously the texts are hopelessly corrupt. ZIMMERN, *KAT*<sup>1</sup>, 536 corrects Anodaphos to Anodachos and identifies him with Ōdakōn and Euedokos.

<sup>6</sup> See SCHEIL, *Délégation en Perse* II p. 90, l. 5; *ibid.*, I 163 and FRANK, *LSS*, II, p. 11<sup>2</sup>. This is the

The length of the second dynasty at Eanna and Erech is given as 2310 years and 11 kings; a legend of Enmerkar who founded Erech is preserved to the effect that he came from Dêr east of the Euphrates, bringing with him the cult of the goddess Innini.<sup>1</sup> The reference in Col. II 35-8 to the subjection of Elam by the king of Kish also indicates close contact with the lands to the eastward in the early period. The third dynasty at Ur has the moderate total of 177 years for 4 kings, and the fourth at Awan the improbable total 356 years for 3 kings. The fifth dynasty ruled at Kish, 8 kings and 3195 years. In my reconstruction of these lists, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I 667, I erroneously assigned the fifth dynasty to Ur, but my list was not otherwise seriously misarranged. The sixth dynasty is assigned to Ħamaši, one king with the high figure 360 years for his reign. It is probable as in the case of the entry concerning Adab, that the Ħamaši dynasty really comprised several names. The seventh dynasty is assigned to Erech, but here the meaning of the text is obscure and the continuation at the top of Col. V is broken away. The scribe apparently did not know the names of more than one king here, namely Enugduanna, but knew that the kingdom endured 420 years.

We come now to the only serious break in the text, and here the eighth dynasty must be assigned to the second kingdom of Ur, with a possible total of 108 years for 4 kings. This estimate is based on the summary of P. No. 2, Rev. XI 11-15, where the total of the three Ur dynasties is given as 396 years. This Nippur list gives 171 years for the first kingdom of Ur and 117 for the third, hence the total on that list for the second dynasty of Ur would be 108. W-B. 444 has 177 + 108 for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> Ur dynasties, but we have here no total from which to reckon. P. No. 2 has 13 or 14 as the total number of kings of the three Ur dynasties, and we know that the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> comprised 9, leaving 4 or 5 names to be supplied in the break, Col. V 1-11. A summary of the Blundell Prism gives the following reconstruction.

## A. ANTE-DILUVIAN PERIOD.

8 Kings      241.200 years.

## B. POST-DILUVIAN PERIOD.

PLACE	KINGS	LENGTH OF DYNASTIES.
1. First dynasty of Kish	23	24510.
2. First dynasty of Erech	12	2310.
3. First dynasty of Ur	4	177.
4. Awan	3	356.
5. Second dynasty of Kish	8	3195.
6. Ħamaši	1	360.
7. Second dynasty of Erech	1 (?)	420.
8. Second dynasty of Ur	4	108. (?)
9. Adab	1	90.
10. Maer	6	136.

symbol and name of the zodiacal constellation Capricorn; see my edition of the *Epic of Creation*, p. 89, n. 7; KUGLER, *Sternkunde*, I 27; VIROLLEAUD, *Ishtar*, VI 22; ZA. VI 229, 13.

<sup>1</sup> The *Weld-Blundell Collection*, Vol. I, 1-10. In the same manner the cult of Isir of Dêr was transported to Kish. See the Introduction to Colonel W. N. LANE's, *Babylonian Problems*.



PLACE	KINGS	LENGTH OF DYNASTIES
11. Third dynasty of Kish	1	100.
12. Akšak	6	93.
13. Fourth dynasty of Kish	7	97. <sup>1</sup>
14. Third dynasty of Erech	1	25.
15. Agade	11	181.
16. Fourth dynasty of Erech	5	30.
17. Gutium	21	125.
18. Fifth dynasty of Erech	1	7.
19. Third dynasty of Ur	5	108.
20. Isin	14	203.

In this list there are 11 cities of the post-diluvian period, and 125 kings. It contains 39 kings in the four dynasties of Kish; P. No. 2 XI 1 has also 39.<sup>2</sup> The total of the figures actually given for these four dynasties is 28.296. For the five kingdoms of Erech the list has 20 names but the entry concerning the second Erech dynasty is defective. P. No. 2 XI 7 has 22 kings for 5 Erech kingdoms, and consequently that tablet contained three names for the second dynasty of Erech. It is extremely probable that Enugduanna, the only name preserved here, is an error for Enšagkušanna who in his vase inscription of Nippur claims to have devastated Kish and to have captured Enbi-Ashtar, king of Kish and of Akšak. This may mean that the last king of the second kingdom of Kish whose name is given "Lugal-mu" or "A king by name", is a substitute for a name which our late compiler did not know.<sup>3</sup> The intervening kingdom of Hamaši is probably contemporary with the second kingdom of Erech.

It is altogether obvious that the dynastic lists for the early period are totally inadequate. The early inscriptions of Lagash make frequent mention of an ancient king Mesilim, a powerful ruler of Kish; from his own inscriptions left at Lagash and Adab it is evident that he belonged to an early dynasty whose power was recognized in Sumer and Accad.<sup>4</sup> The epigraphy of these two inscriptions indicates a period long before Ur-Ninâ and his successors at Lagash. Moreover it is clear from the inscriptions of Eannatum that Mesilim lived before his period. Since Ur-Ninâ, Eannatum and their successors are about contemporary with Kug-Bau and her son Gimil-Sin who actually formed one dynasty at Kish, obviously Mesilim should belong to the *second* dynasty of Kish. His name does not appear at all in this dynasty! And what about Ur-zag-ed king of Kish who dedicated a vase<sup>5</sup> to Enlil and Ninlil to Nippur? "Lugal-tarsi king of Kish", whose lapis lazuli tablet has been preserved, is no-where mentioned in any Kish dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Another king of Kish<sup>7</sup> by name *Lugal-?-?* is mentioned on a huge spear-head.<sup>8</sup> In the case of Lugal-tarsi and Lugal-?-(?) the title may mean simply *šar kiššati*, "king of universal dominion".

<sup>1</sup> See note on Col. VI 21, where 491 is corrected to 97 2/3.

<sup>2</sup> See photograph, Pl. 90.

<sup>3</sup> See also Col. VII 28

<sup>4</sup> SAK. 160, No. 2 and AJSL. 30, 221.

<sup>5</sup> OBL. 93.

<sup>6</sup> CT. III 1, BM. 12155. The epigraphy of the last two mentioned inscriptions seems to indicate a period immediately before Sargon of Agade.

<sup>7</sup> *KIŠ* without determinative as on BM. 12155.

<sup>8</sup> RA. IV 111.



It is, therefore, probable, when these kings call themselves kings of Kish(ki) or Kish, they mean that they had obtained possession of this ancient city. That would have been especially true of the northern cities Awan, Maer and Akšak. Lugal-tar-si is probably identical with the second king of Maer whose name ends in *zi* on L. No. 1 V 13. The defaced name on the spear-head<sup>1</sup> is probably identical with the fourth king of Maer and to be read *Lugal-?-lu-gal*. Mesilim may be in reality one of the three lost names of the dynasty of Awan, and Ur-zag-ed may possibly be one of the lost names of a longer kingdom of *Ḫamaši*.

When Eannatum says that he waged war with Zu-zu king of Akšak<sup>1</sup>, and in the contemporary kingdom of Akšak Zu-zu does not appear, the scholar must suppose that patesis at Akšak in the preceding dynasty of Maer called themselves kings; hence Ur-Ninâ and Eannatum clearly belong to a period *before* Unzi of Akšak and Kug-Bau of Kish. And again what is to be said of *I-la(?)*-*Šamaš* who calls himself king of Maer on a seated statue<sup>2</sup> of the archaic period? He has no place in the list of the kings of Maer in Col. V 22-31. He was in fact only a patesi who lived perhaps in the age of the kings of Adab or earlier.

It is obvious that in the inscriptions before the time of Sargon no confidence can be placed in records of local scribes unless they are confirmed by the dynastic lists. Ur-Ninâ calls himself king of Lagash, but there was no recognized kingdom at Lagash; Ennatum does the same, and these two rulers of Lagash were apparently contemporaries of the kings of Maer. We cannot be certain that even Enšagkušanna, Lugalkigubnilaḡ and Lugalkisalsi actually belonged to recognized dynasties at Erech or Ur as the two latter claim.

The lists all give 3 kingdoms at Ur, 13 kings whose total on W-B. 444 is  $177 + 108(?) + 108 = 393$  years. P. No. 2 XI 13 has the total 396 made up of  $171 + [108] + 117$ .<sup>3</sup>

The most useful information obtainable from these lists is the fact that the chronology is definitely fixed back to the period of the Akšak dynasty. The hundred years assigned to Kug-Bau at Kish is only a subterfuge to account for the contemporary kingdom of Akšak. It is probable that her 100 years may be entirely disregarded. This would afford fairly certain reckoning to the beginning of the second Ur dynasty. The only problem is that of the, heretofore, supposed certain dates for the dynasties of Isin and the third dynasty of Ur. If we accept the current figures for the beginning of the Isin dynasty, 2357 B. C.<sup>4</sup>, Ur-Nammu began his reign in 2465 B. C. Accepting this as a fixed point of departure the chronology will be as follows.

1. First dynasty of Kish, *circa* 5500. — 2. First dynasty of Erech, *circa* 4600. — 3. First dynasty of Ur, *circa* 4100. — 4. Awan, *circa* 3900. — 5. Second dynasty of Kish, *circa* 3750. — 6. *Ḫamaši*, *circa* 3560. — 7. Second dynasty of Erech, *circa* 3450. — 8. Second dynasty of Ur, 3357-3250. — 9. Adab, 3249-3160. — 10. Maer, 3159-3024. — 11. Third dynasty of Kish (Kug-Bau). — 12. Akšak (contemporary with Kug-Bau), 3023-2931. — 13. Fourth dynasty of Kish, 2930-2834. — 14. Third dynasty of Erech, 2833-2809. — 15. Agade, 2808-2628. —

<sup>1</sup> SAK. 20 V 4.      <sup>2</sup> CT. V 2, BM. 12146 and KING, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, Plate opp. p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the length of the 3<sup>d</sup> dynasty on P. No. 2 was 108 not 117 as on P. No. 5. In that case 115 years was given for the second dynasty of Ur.

<sup>4</sup> This date is regarded by those who depend upon Assyrian chronological data, as against the Babylonian data, as about 170 years too high. See WEIDNER, *Die Könige von Assyrien*, pp. 40 ff. A discussion of this problem would fill an entire brochure and I must be satisfied with remaining non-committal at the time of writing. WEIDNER's thesis seems to me unproved, but Kugler has also joined in the movement to lower the dates of the First Babylonian Dynasty and consequently the beginning of the dynasty of Isin. [See now the Preface].

16. Fourth dynasty of Erech, 2627-2598. — 17. Gutium, 2597-2471. — 18. Fifth dynasty of Erech, 2472-2466. — 19. Third dynasty of Ur, 2465-2357.

## COL. I.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. [nam-]lugal an-ta ÷-dé-a-ba                   | 1. Rulership which from heaven descended.     |
| 2. [Eri]du-(ki) nam-lugal-la.                    | 2. At Eridu rulership (began).                |
| 3. Eridu-(ki) Á-lu-lim <sup>1</sup> lugal        | 3. At Eridu Alulim was king.                  |
| 4. mu 28800 ni-ag                                | 4. He ruled 28800 years.                      |
| 5. Á-la(l)-gar mu 36000 ni-ag                    | 5. Alagar ruled 36000 years.                  |
| 6. 2 lugal                                       | 6. Two kings.                                 |
| 7. mu 64800 ib-ag                                | 7. 64800 years they ruled.                    |
| 8. Eridu-(ki) ba-šub                             | 8. Eridu was overthrown.                      |
| 9. nam-lugal-bi Bad-tibira <sup>2</sup> -(ki)-šú | 9. The rulership to Badtibira                 |
| 10. ba-gín                                       | 10. passed.                                   |
| 11. Bad-tibira-(ki) En-me-en-lù-an-na            | 11. At Badtibira Enmenluanna                  |
| 12. mu 43200 ni-ag                               | 12. ruled 43200 years.                        |
| 13. En-me-en-gal-an-na                           | 13. Enmengalanna                              |
| 14. mu 28800 ni-ag                               | 14. ruled 28800 years.                        |
| 15. <sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi-sib mu 36000 ni-ag      | 15. <sup>d</sup> Dumuzisib ruled 36000 years. |
| 16. 3 lugal                                      | 16. Three kings.                              |
| 17. mu-bi 108000 ib-ag                           | 17. They ruled 108000 years.                  |
| 18. Bad-tibira-(ki) ba-šub-bi-en                 | 18. Badtibira was overthrown.                 |
| 19. nam-lugal-bi La-ra-ak(ki) ba-gub.            | 19. The rulership was established at Larak.   |
| 20. La-ra-ak(ki) En-sib-zi-an-na                 | 20. At Larak Ensibzianna                      |
| 21. mu 28800 ni-ag                               | 21. ruled 28800 years.                        |
| 22. 1 lugal                                      | 22. One king.                                 |
| 23. mu-bi 28800 ib-ag                            | 23. He ruled 28800 years.                     |
| 24. La-ra-ak(ki) ba-šub-bi-en                    | 24. Larak was overthrown.                     |
| 25. nam-lugal-bi Zimbar-šú ba-gín                | 25. The rulership passed to Sippar.           |
| 26. Zimbar-(ki) En-me-en-dúr <sup>3</sup> -an-na | 26. At Sippar Enmenduranna                    |

<sup>1</sup> Var. W. B. 62 [á]-lulim. The curious sign on the variant is thus proved to be a form of REC. 229 which varies with *lu-lim*. Cf. *máš*-R, with *máš-lu-lim*, Gudea, Cyl. B 7, 5 and RADAU, *Miscel.* 5, 6. An abbreviated form is *máš*-ANŠU = *bálu*. In this common ideogram for *bálu*, ANŠU is surely a corruption for ANŠU + LU + LIM, and *máš* + REC. 229 is for *bálu*. *lulim* = *lulimu* means the male leader of any flock of animals either domestic or wild, and hence may be rendered stag, hind, or ram. Cf. *lu-nitaĝ pa-ni* = *lu-lim* = *immer pani*, "leading sheep", ZA. 11, 55, 8 = BA II, 491, 8 = ZA. 11, 39, 8 = KAR. 166, 8. *lulim* then obtained the meaning "leader, champion". See *lulimu*, MUSS ARNOLD, *Lexicon*, 482 and RA. 10, 71, 42. Note that *lulim* is a title of a pastoral deity (Girra, Nergal), in *En-lulim sib máš-lulim*, Lord *lulim* shepherd of the cattle, Gudea, Cyl. B 10, 7. *ḡgirra máš-lulim igi-bar*, Girra who beholds the cattle, KL. 8 IV 12, and *ḡg-lu-lim* a door-keeper of Nergal, CT. 24, 24, 59. The star *mulu-lim* is identified with Enmesarra (Nergal), V R. 46 a 21. It is, therefore, probable that *lulim* in this name refers to the god of the flocks, Girra, and means "Hand (help) of the pastoral deity (the leader)".

<sup>2</sup> *tibira*, metal worker, (see JRAS. 1923, 258 n. 2) is probably the explanation of the name Tūbal-Cain in the Hebrew legend of the Ten Patriarchs, Genesis IV 22, Source J. The original Sumerian *tibira*, loan-word *tabiru*, was transmitted to the Hebrews as *tōbal*, *tūbal*, and then explained by the Hebrew-Arabic word *Ḳāṭīn*, metal worker. This combination was discovered by SAYCE and communicated to me orally.

<sup>3</sup> Var. W. B. 62 *dur*. Originally En-me-dur-an-ki, ZIMMERN, *Rit. Tf.* No. 24, Obv. 1, traditional founder of the art of divination.



27. <i>lugal-ám mu 21000 ni-ag</i>	27. was king and ruled 21000 years.
28. <i>1 lugal</i>	28. One king
29. <i>mu-bi 21000 ib-ag</i>	29. He ruled 21000 years.
30. <i>Zimbar-(ki) ba-šub-bi-en</i>	30. Sippar was overthrown.
31. <i>nam-lugal-bi Šuruppak-(ki)<sup>1</sup> ba-gub</i>	31. The rulership was established at Shuruppak.
32. <i>Šuruppak-(ki) Ubur-du-du<sup>2</sup></i>	32. At Shuruppak Ubardudu
33. <i>lugal-ám mu 18600 ni-ag</i>	33. was king and ruled 18600 years.
34. <i>1 lugal</i>	34. One king
35. <i>mu-bi 18600 ib-ag</i>	35. He ruled 18600 years.
36. <i>5 eri-ki-me-eš</i>	36. Five cities
37. <i>8 lugal</i>	37. Eight kings.
38. <i>mu sar-1-gal<sup>3</sup> + 3600 X 7 ib-ag</i>	38. They ruled 241.200 years.
39. <i>a-ma-ru ba-úr-ra-ta<sup>4</sup></i>	39. The Deluge came up (upon the Land).
40. <i>egir a-ma-ru ba-úr-ra-ta</i>	40. After the Deluge had come,
41. <i>nam-lugal an-ta ċ-dé-a-ba</i>	41. The rulership which descended from heaven. (Sic !)
<hr/>	
42. <i>Kiš-(ki) nam-lugal-la</i>	42. At Kish there was the rulership.
43. <i>Kiš-(ki) Gà-ur<sup>5</sup></i>	43. At Kish Gà-ur
44. <i>lugal-ám</i>	44. became king.
45. <i>mu 1200 ni-ag</i>	45. He ruled 1200 years.
46. <i>Gul-la-<sup>a</sup>Nidaba-an-na..... EL<sup>6</sup></i>	46. <i>Gulla-Nidaba-anna.....</i>
47. <i>mu 600 + 360 ni-ag</i>	47. reigned 960 years

<sup>1</sup> Written *SU + KUR + RU*. Var. 62 *SU + KUR + LAM* an unusual form midway between the old sign REC. 190bis and the form BRÜNNOW, 9049.

<sup>2</sup> The Var. W-B. 62 has *Ubur-tu-tu*, and the Semitic legend, Epic of Gilgamesh, XI 23 *Ubar-tu-tu*. *Ubur*, woman's breast, is clearly a cognate of *Ubar*, protégé, mercy, protection, "The protégé or protected of Tutu". *Du-du*, *Tu-tu*, is a title of an ancient deity later identified with Marduk. See *Poème du Paradis* 132 n. 2 and my note on *Epic of Creation* VII 9. Cf. the Sumerian name *Du-du*, for *Du-du-lāg*, "Dudu has made sure", GENOUILLE, TSA., 109; see HUBER, *Personennamen*, 195.

<sup>3</sup> *sar-1-gal* or *sar-gal-1* occurs in CT. 12, 24 II 6 after *sar-šuš* ( $3600 \times 60 = 216.000$ ) and seems to be a higher order in the numerical system. Here it is identical with the *sar-šuš* = 216.000. The *sar-gal* is also equal to 21.600 in the Hilprecht mathematical tablets. THUREAU-DANGIN, RA. 18, 125 on the basis of CT. 12, 24, supposed that the *sar-gal* =  $60^4$  or 12,960,000 but this is no longer tenable. Undoubtedly the *sar-gal* 2 of CT, 12, 24 II 7 is the same as the *sar-gal-šu-nu-tag* =  $60^4$  of the Hilprecht tablets. See *Sum. Grammar*, p. 120 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> This was the established Sumerian phrase to describe the "entering", of the Deluge. See PBS. V 1 Col. V 4, *a-ma-ru kalam-ma ba-an-úr-ra*, The Deluge entered on the Land (for seven days and seven nights). (Enlil) *a-ma-ru ba-an-úr* = *abuba ullebī'i*, caused the Deluge to enter, SBP. 260, 19; Ninurta is ordinarily regarded as the god who sent the Flood, *a-ma-ru úr-ra* = *mušbī'i abubu*, SBP. 232, 8; cf. Hrozní, *Ninrag*, p. 8, 9-11 and EBELING, KAR, No. 12, 10 f. For *úr* = *ba'u*, cf. IV R. 19 No. 3, Obv. 7, *ba-an-úr* = *ib-ta-'a*.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly a small sign gone before *gà*(MAL). The name should correspond to *Evexius* of Alexander Polyhistor, CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, 59 and *Εὐέχιος* of Syncellus, p. 67, which GUTSCHMIDT corrected to *Εὐήχορος*; v. ZIMMERN, KAT<sup>3</sup>, 565 n. 3. In any case *gà-ur* proves that ..... *χορος* is right. I can see no traces in the slight break before *MAL*, and do not believe that any thing is missing. Polyhistor after Berossus gave his reign at 2400 years.

<sup>6</sup> The name has little resemblance to *Χωμάσβηλος*, Comosbelus, second king after the Flood in Syncellus and Polyhistor, who assigned 2700 years to this reign. SAYCE suggests that *Kulla* or *κύλλα* was corrupted to *χομα* in the Greek script. A reading *Gulla-ezen-an-na* ..... is possible.



COL. II. <sup>1</sup>

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. . . . .  | 1. . . . .   |
| 2. . . . .  | 2. . . . .   |
| 3. . . . .  | 3. . . . .   |
| 4. . . . .  | 4. . . . . reigned ? years. <sup>2</sup>                     |
| 5. <i>Ba</i> [ <i>ba</i> ?- <i>gul</i> ?- <i>e</i> ? <i>mu</i> ? <i>ni-ag</i> ] | 5. <i>Baba</i> (?)...? reigned ? years. <sup>3</sup>         |
| 6. <i>Bu</i> - <sup>4</sup> [ <i>En-zu</i> ? <i>mu</i> ? <i>ni-ag</i> ]         | 6. <i>Bu-Sin</i> (?) reigned ? years. <sup>4</sup>           |
| 7. <i>Ga-li-bu-um</i>   | 7. <i>Galibum</i> <sup>5</sup>                               |
| 8. <i>mu</i> 600 + 360 <i>ni-ag</i>   | 8. reigned 960 years.  |
| 9. <i>Ka-lu-mu-mu mu</i> 600 + 240 <i>ni-ag</i>                                 | 9. <i>Kalumumu</i> reigned 840 years. <sup>6</sup>           |
| 10. <i>Dug-ga-gi-ib</i>   | 10. <i>Duggagib</i> <sup>7</sup>                             |
| 11. <i>mu</i> 600 + 300 <i>ni-ag</i>  | 11. reigned 900 years.                                       |
| 12. <i>Á-tab mu</i> 600 <i>ni-ag</i>  | 12. <i>Atab</i> reigned 600 years. <sup>8</sup>              |
| 13. <i>Á-tab-ba mu</i> 600 + 240 <i>ni-ag</i>                                   | 13. <i>Atabba</i> reigned 840 years. <sup>6</sup>            |
| 14. <i>Ar-pi-ú-um</i> <sup>9</sup> <i>dumu maš</i> <sup>10</sup> - <i>dā-ge</i> | 14. <i>Arpium</i> son of a poor man,                         |
| 15. <i>mu</i> 600 + 120 <i>ni-ag</i>  | 15. reigned 720 years. <sup>11</sup>                         |
| 16. <i>E-ta-na sib galu an-šú</i>   | 16. <i>Etana</i> the shepherd who to heaven                  |
| 17. <i>ba-ě-dē</i> <sup>12</sup>  | 17. ascended,  |
| 18. <i>galu kur-kur mu-un-gi-na</i>   | 18. who made the foreign lands faithful,                     |
| 19. <i>lugal-ám mu</i> 1200 + 300 <sup>13</sup> <i>ni-ag</i>                    | 19. became king and reigned 1500 years                       |
| 20. <i>Ba</i> <sup>14</sup> - <i>li-ih</i>                                      | 20. <i>Baliḥ</i>   |
| 21. <i>dumu E-ta-na-ge</i>  | 21. son of <i>Etana</i>                                      |
| 22. <i>mu</i> 400 <sup>15</sup> <i>ni-ag</i>                                    | 22. reigned 400 years.                                       |
| 23. <i>En-me-nun-na</i> <sup>16</sup> <i>mu</i> 660 <i>ni-ag</i>                | 23. <i>Enmenunna</i> reigned 660 years.                      |
| 24. <i>Me-lam-Kiš-(ki) dumu En-me-nun-na-ge</i>                                 | 24. <i>Melam-Kish</i> <sup>17</sup> son of <i>Enmenunna</i>  |
| 25. <i>mu</i> 900 <i>ni-ag</i>  | 25. ruled 900 years.   |
| 26. <i>Bar-sal-nun-na dumu En-me-nun-na</i>                                     | 26. <i>Barsalnunna</i> son of <i>Enmenunna</i> <sup>18</sup> |
| 27. <i>mu</i> 600 + 600 (1200) <i>ni-ag</i>                                     | 27. reigned 1200 years.                                      |
| 28. <i>Tup</i> - <sup>19</sup> <i>za-aḥ dumu Bar-sal-nun-na</i>                 | 28. <i>Tupzaḥ</i> son of <i>Barsalnunna</i>                  |

<sup>1</sup> Syncellus gave five names for the 3-7 kings after the Flood, and then an Arabian ! dynasty of 6 kings. They are all fictions. See POEBEL, PBS. IV 87; CORY, *ibid.* 67-8.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 1-4 contained two names and correspond to P. No. 5 I 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> P. No. 5 I 4. <sup>4</sup> P. No. 5 I 5. <sup>5</sup> P. No. 2 I 1; No. 3 I 1; No. 5 I 6.

<sup>6</sup> P. No. 2 I 7 + No. 3 I 7, *Ga-lu-mu-um*; No. 5 I 9, *Ka-lu-mu-um* (No. 2, *Ga-lu-mu-um-e*).

<sup>7</sup> Corresponds to P. No. 5 I 10; No. 2 I 9; No. 3 I 9. POEBEL reads *zu-ga-gi-ib-(e)*. The sign *KA* has also the value *zu*, but it is probable that *KA* is the correct reading and the "Scorpion King" must be regarded as an erroneous reading.

<sup>8</sup> Corresponds to P. No. 5 I 7-8; No. 3 I 3-6; No. 1 I 3-6.

<sup>9</sup> P. No. 1 I 11, *Ar-pi-i*; No. 3 I 11, *Ar-pu-um*; No. 5 I 11, *Ar-pi-ū*.

<sup>10</sup> Sign here is *BAR*.

<sup>11</sup> The order of these names in the Nippur variants is *Galibum*, *Atab*, *Atabba*, *Kalumumu*, *Duggagib*, *Arpium*.

<sup>12</sup> P. No. 3 I 14, *ba-ě-da*; P. No. 2 I 14, *ni-ib-ě-da*. <sup>13</sup> P. No. 2 I 16, 600 + 35 (?)

<sup>14</sup> P. No. 2 I 17, *Wa-li-ih*. For this name, KING, *Chronicles*, II 47 has *AN-ILLAD* !

<sup>15</sup> P. No. 2 I 19, has 410 years.

<sup>16</sup> *En-me-nun-na-ge* and 611 years, P. No. 2 I 20. Here the *Dynastic Chronicle*, KING, *Chronicles*, II 47, 3, *En-men-nun-na*.

<sup>17</sup> KING, *Chronicles*, II 47 read *A-lam-kiš-šu*, certainly a scribal error.

<sup>18</sup> P. No. 5 I 17 omits *dumu Enmenunna*.

<sup>19</sup> Not *MES*, *KIŠIB*.

29. <i>mu</i> 140 <i>ni-ag</i>	29. reigned 140 years.
30. <i>Ti-iz-kâr dumu Tup-za-aḥ</i>	30. Tizkar son of Tupzah
31. <i>mu</i> 5 <i>šu-ši</i> + 6 <i>ni-ag</i>	31. reigned 306 years.
32. <i>Il-ku-u</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>mu</i> 600 + 300 <sup>2</sup> <i>ni-ag</i>	32. Ilkû reigned 900 years.
33. <i>Il-ta-sa-du-um</i>	33. Iltasadum
34. <i>mu</i> 600 + 600 <i>ni-ag</i>	34. reigned 1200 years.
35. <i>En-me-en-bara-gi-gur</i>	35. Enmenbaragigur
36. <i>galu ma-da Elam-(ki)-ma</i>	36. who the land of Elam
37. <i>gišku-bi ib-ta<sup>3</sup>-an-gam</i>	37. with his weapon subdued
38. <i>lugal-ám mu</i> 600 + 300 <sup>4</sup> <i>ni-ag</i>	38. became king. He reigned 900 years.
39. <i>Ag-ga</i> <sup>5</sup>	39. Agga
40. <i>dumu En-me-en-bara-gi-gur-ge</i>	40. son of Enmenbaragigur
41. <i>mu</i> 600 + 25 <sup>6</sup> <i>ni-ag</i>	41. reigned 625 years.
42. 23 <i>lugal</i> <sup>7</sup>	42. Twenty three kings.
43. <i>mu-bi</i> 24510 <i>ita</i> 3	43. They reigned 24510 years, 3 months
44. <i>ud</i> 3 <i>ud-maš ib-ag</i>	44. three days and a half day. <sup>8</sup>
45. <i>Kiš(ki) gišku ba-an- siḡ</i>	45. Kish was smitten with weapons.
46. <i>nam-lugal-bi É-an-na-šú</i> <i>ba- gín</i>	46. The rulership passed to Eanna.
47. <i>É-an-na-ka</i>	47. At Eanna

## COL. III.

1. [ <i>Mes-</i> ] <i>ki-em-ga-[še-ir]</i> <sup>9</sup>	1. Meskemgašer
2. [ <i>dumu</i> ] <sup>4</sup> <i>Babbar en-[ám]</i>	2. son of Shamash was high priest
3. [ <i>lugal-</i> ] <i>ám mu</i> 300 + 2[5 <i>ni-ag</i> ]	3. and became king. He reigned 325 years.
4. [ <i>Mes-</i> ] <i>ki-em-ga-[še-ir]</i>	4. Meskemgašer
5. <i>ab-ba ba-an-tur</i>	5. penetrated to the sea <sup>10</sup>
6. <i>gar-sag-šú ba- ed</i>	6. and went up unto the mountains.
7. <i>En-me-kar</i> <sup>11</sup> <i>dumu Mes-ki-em-[ga-še-ir-ge]</i>	7. Enmekar, son of Meskemgašer,
8. <i>lugal Unug-(ki)-ga galu Unug-(ki)-ga</i>	8. king of Erech, who built Erech
9. <i>mu-un-</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dū- a</i>	9.
10. <i>lugal-ám</i>	10. became king

<sup>1</sup> P. No. 5 I 20 *Il-ku-u-um* ?<sup>2</sup> Written 60 + 15 ! by wrong spacing of the figures.<sup>3</sup> For *ta* instrumental infix, v. *Sum. Grammar*, § 103. This line corresponds to P. No. 3 II 1.<sup>4</sup> P. No. 3 II 2 has 600 + 300 (?).<sup>5</sup> P. No. 3 II 3, *Ag dumu En-me-bara*.....<sup>6</sup> Same figure in P. No. 3 II 4.<sup>7</sup> P. No. 3 II 5-6 has an insertion giving the total of the years of Enmenbaragigur and his son.<sup>8</sup> The actual sum of the 19 reigns preserved is 12491, which leaves over 12,000 years to be distributed among 4 reigns. The scribe's addition cannot be correct. But Polyhistor's figures for the first two are twice and three times larger. Consequently the total here may have been taken from some other mathematical scheme.<sup>9</sup> P. No. 2 II 4, *Mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir*.<sup>10</sup> Here obviously the Persian Gulf.<sup>11</sup> P. No. 2 II 12. *En-me-ir-kar*. This is the form on a prism of the Weld-Blundell Collection.<sup>12</sup> P. No. 2 II 16, *mu-un-da-dū-a*.



11. mu 420 ni- ag
12. <sup>d</sup>Lugal-banda (da) sib
13. mu 1200 ni- ag
14. <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi šu-~~HA~~-GUNU
15. eri-ki-ni ~~Ha~~-būr-(ki)
16. mu 100 ni-ag
17. <sup>d</sup>Gibil-ga-meš
18. ab-ba-ni lil-lá
19. en Kullab-ba-ge
20. mu 126 ni-ag
21. Ur-<sup>d</sup>Nun-gal<sup>4</sup>
22. dumu <sup>d</sup>Gibil-ga-meš
23. mu 30 ni- ag
24. Utul<sup>6</sup>-kalam-ma
25. dumu Ur-<sup>d</sup>Nun-gal-ge
26. mu 15 ni- ag
27. La-ba-še - ir
28. mu 9 ni- ag
29. En-nun-nad-an-na
30. mu 8 ni - ag
31. ? ġe-de mu 36 ni-ag
32. Me-lam-an-na
33. mu 6 ni- ag
34. Lugal-ki-aga<sup>7</sup> mu 36 ni-ag
35. 12 lugal
36. mu-bi 1800 + 480 + 30 ib-ag
37. Unug-(ki) <sup>gi</sup>ku ba-an-sig

11. He reigned 420 years.
12. The deified Lugalbanda, a shepherd,
13. reigned 1200 years.
14. The deified Dumuzi<sup>1</sup>, a fisherman,
15. whose city was Habur<sup>2</sup>
16. reigned 100 years.
17. Gilgameš,
18. whose father was a fool,<sup>3</sup>
19. the lord of Kullab,
20. reigned 126 years.
21. Ur-<sup>d</sup>Nungal<sup>5</sup>
22. son of Gilgameš
23. reigned 30 years.
24. Utulkamma,
25. son of Ur-<sup>d</sup>Nungal,
26. reigned 15 years.
27. Labasher
28. reigned 9 years.
29. Ennunnadanna
30. reigned 8 years.
31. .... ġe-de reigned 36 years.
32. Melamanna
33. reigned 6 years
34. Lugal-kiaga reigned 36 years.
35. 12 kings.
36. They reigned 2310 years.<sup>8</sup>
37. Erech was smitten by weapons.

<sup>1</sup> Identified with an older deity *Ab-ú*, the dying god of Sumerian religion.

<sup>2</sup> A title of Eridu.

<sup>3</sup> *Lil-la* means "the fool, imbecile, cripple". This explains the story in Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* XII 21. Here it is said that *Seuēchoros*, king of the Babylonians, heard how the Chaldeans (i. e. Astrologers) prophesied that his daughter would bear a child and that this child would seize the kingdom from his grandfather. *Seuēchoros* played the part of *Acrisius* in the Greek myth. He locked his daughter in the citadel but she secretly bore a son by an obscure man, and the king's guards in terror threw the child from the tower. An eagle perceived his fall and seized him by the back before he reached the earth. The bird carried the babe to a garden where the gardener loved him and reared him. This child was *Gilgamos* and he became king. *Seuēchoros*, as SAYCE observes, is a corruption for *En-me-(r)-kar*. It is obvious that the name of the father of *Gilgamiš Lilla*, the fool, reveals the origin of the story in Aelian. In the *Gilgamiš Epic* his mother is reputed to have been the mother goddess *Ninsun*. It is possible that *lil-la* is really a title of *Tammuz* who in the Louvre hymn, RA. 19, 175-185 is called *mu-lu-lil*, "the fool god", and that *Tammuz* is really the father of *Gilgamiš* here. The story in Aelian may have been concocted to explain the word *lil-la*, but the connection of *Enmekar* with this tale rather proves the historical veracity of the tale.

<sup>4</sup> This name is written [*Ur-d-Nun-lugal*], PBS. V No. 6, 5.

<sup>5</sup> The name is common among Sumerians; v. HUBER, *Per. Namen*, 81-2.

<sup>6</sup> One sign *u* + *tul*; cf. *u-tul*, shepherd, GRICE, Yale V 4 X 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. EBELING, KAR 132 I, 8-9; *ina muḫḫi ki-aga-zi-da ana imilli dAnim uššab*.

<sup>8</sup> This addition is correct.



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| <p>38. <i>nam-lugal-bi Uri-(ki)-šú</i><br/>                                  <i>ba-gín</i></p> <p>39. <i>Uri-(ki)-ma</i></p> <p>40. <i>Mes-an-ni-pad-da</i><sup>1</sup></p> <p>41. <i>lugal-ám mu 80 ni-ag</i><sup>2</sup></p> <p>42. <i>Mes-ki-em-d Nannar</i><sup>3</sup></p> <p>43. <i>dumu Mes-an-ni-pad-da</i></p> <p>44. <i>lugal-ám</i></p> <p>45. <i>mu 36<sup>4</sup> ni-ag</i></p> | <p>38. The rulership passed to Ur.</p> <p>39. At Ur.</p> <p>40. Mesannipadda</p> <p>41. reigned 80 years.</p> <p>42. Meskem-d Nannar</p> <p>43. son of Mesannipadda</p> <p>44. became king.</p> <p>45. He ruled 36 years.</p> |
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## COL. IV.

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| <p>1. [<i>E-lu-lu mu 25 ni-ag</i>]</p> <p>2. [<i>Ba-lu-lu mu 36 ni-ag</i>]</p> <p>3. [           4 <i>lugal</i>           ]</p> <p>4. [<i>mu-bi 177<sup>1</sup> ib-ag</i>           ]</p> <p>5. [<i>Uri-(ki)-ma šis<sup>2</sup>ku ba-sig</i>   ]</p> <p>6. [<i>mam-lugal-bi A-wa-an-(ki)-šú</i>]</p> <p>7.                           [<i>ba-gín</i>   ]</p> <p>8. [<i>A-wa-an-(ki)</i>                   ]</p> <p>9. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .</p> <p>10. [<i>lugal-ám mu . . . . . ni-ag</i>]</p> <p>11. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .</p> <p>12. <i>mu</i> [ . . . . . <i>ni-ag</i> ]</p> <p>13. <i>Ku-ul</i> (?) . . . . .</p> <p>14. <i>mu 36 ni-ag</i></p> <p>15.                           3 [<i>lugal</i>]</p> <p>16. <i>mu-bi 300 + 51 + [5]<sup>3</sup> [ib-ag]</i></p> <p>17. <i>A-wa-an-(ki) šis<sup>2</sup>ku ba-sig</i></p> <p>18. <i>nam-lugal-bi</i></p> <p>19. <i>Kiš-(ki)-šú [ba-gín]</i></p> <p>20. <i>Kiš-(ki) Lah(?) . . . . .</i></p> <p>21. <i>lugal-ám</i></p> <p>22. <i>mu 180 + 21 + ? [ni-ag]</i></p> <p>23. <i>Da-da-sig mu [ . . . . . ni-ag]</i></p> <p>24. <i>Má-má-gal . . . . .</i></p> | <p>1. Elulu reigned 25 years.<sup>5</sup></p> <p>2. Balulu reigned 36 years.<sup>6</sup></p> <p>3. 4 kings</p> <p>4. They ruled 177 years.</p> <p>5. Ur by weapons was smitten.</p> <p>6. The rulership passed to Awan.</p> <p>8. At Awan</p> <p>9. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .</p> <p>10. became king. He reigned ..... years.</p> <p>11. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .</p> <p>12. reigned ..... years.</p> <p>13. Ku-ul (?) . . . . .</p> <p>14. reigned 36 years.</p> <p>15. Three kings.</p> <p>16. They reigned 356 years.</p> <p>17. Awan by weapons was smitten.</p> <p>18. The rulership</p> <p>19. passed to Kish.</p> <p>20. At Kish Lah (?) . . . . .</p> <p>21. became king.</p> <p>22. He reigned 201 + ? years.</p> <p>23. Dadasig reigned .... years.</p> <p>24. Mamagal . . . . .</p> |
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<sup>1</sup> The sign *MES* is clearly the sign *DUP*, REC. 385, and not REC. 363. Also in Meskemgašer the sign is *DUP*. For this confusion, v. CT. 12, 14 a 18 = K. 10072, 4, *DUP*(me-is) = *išlu*.

<sup>2</sup> P. No. 2 III 6.

<sup>3</sup> Not *nun-na* as POEBEL (No. 2 III 7) copied.

<sup>4</sup> P. No. 2 III 9 has 30 years.

<sup>5</sup> Restored from P. 2 III 11 + LEGRAIN, PBS. XIII, No. 1, III 3.

<sup>6</sup> Restored from P. 2 III 12 + LEGRAIN, No. 1, III 4.

<sup>7</sup> P. No. 2 III 15 + L. No. 1 III 7 has 171. See line 45 above.

<sup>8</sup> The number 356 is given on P. No. 2 Rev. XI 16.

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| 25. <i>mu</i> 6 <i>šu-ši</i> [ <i>ni- ag</i> ]                   | 25. reigned 360 years.                       |
| 26. <i>Ka-al-bu- [um]</i>  | 26. Kalbum                                   |
| 27. <i>dumu Má-gal-gal</i> <sup>1</sup> . . . . .                | 27. son of Magalgal . . . .                  |
| 28. <i>mu</i> 180 <sup>2</sup> + 15 <i>ni- ag</i>                | 28. reigned 195 years (1215?).               |
| 29. <i>Umuš-e mu</i> 360 <i>ni- ag</i>                           | 29. Umuše reigned 360 years.                 |
| 30. ? <sup>3</sup> <i>nun-na mu</i> 180 <i>ni-ag</i>             | 30. ...-nunna reigned 180 years.             |
| 31. <i>I-bi- ni-iš</i> (?)                                       | 31. Ibiniš (?)                               |
| 32. <i>mu</i> 240 + 50 <i>ni-ag</i>                              | 32. reigned 290 years.                       |
| 33. <i>lugal-mu mu</i> 360 <i>ni-ag</i>                          | 33. Lugalmu (?) reigned 360 years.           |
| 34. 8 <i>lugal</i>   | 34. 8 kings.                                 |
| 35. <i>mu-bi</i> 3000 + 180 + 15 <i>ib-ag</i>                    | 35. They reigned 3195 years. <sup>4</sup>    |
| 36. <i>Kiš-(ki) gišku ba-an- sig</i>                             | 36. Kish was smitten by weapons.             |
| 37. <i>nam-lugal-bi</i>  | 37. The rulership                            |
| 38. <i>Ha-ma-ši-(ki)-šú ba- gín</i>                              | 38. passed to Hamaši. <sup>5</sup>           |
| 39. <i>Ha-ma-ši</i> <sup>6</sup> <i>Ha-da-ni-iš</i> <sup>7</sup> | 39. At Hamaši Hadaniš                        |
| 40. <i>mu</i> 6 <i>šu-ši ni- ag</i>                              | 40. ruled 360 years.                         |
| 41. 1 <i>lugal</i>   | 41. 1 king                                   |
| 42. <i>mu-bi</i> 6 <i>šu-ši</i> <sup>8</sup> <i>ib- ag</i>       | 42. He reigned 360 years.                    |
| 43. <i>Ha-ma-ši-(ki) gišku ba-an-sig</i>                         | 43. Hamaši by weapons was smitten.           |
| 44. <i>nam-lugal-bi Unug-(ki)-šú ba-gín</i>                      | 44. The rulership passed to Erech.           |
| 45. <i>Unug-(ki)-ga En-ūg-du-an-na</i>                           | 45. At Erech Enugduanna                      |
| 46. <i>lugal-ám mu</i> 1 <i>šu-ši ni-ag</i>                      | 46. became king. He ruled 60 years.          |
| 47. <i>nam-lugal-bi mu</i> 2 <i>šu-ši ni-ag</i>                  | 47. The kingship for 120 years was exercised |
| 48. <i>mu</i> 480 <i>ni- ag</i>                                  | 48. For 420 years they ruled. <sup>9</sup>   |

## COL. V.

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| 1-10. . . . .                           | . . . . .                        |
| 11. [. . . . . -] <i>LU?</i>            | 11. . . . .                      |
| 12. [ <i>mu</i> ? <i>ni- ag</i> ]       | 12. ? years he ruled.            |
| 13. [ ? <i>lugal</i> ]                  | 13. ? kings                      |
| 14. [ <i>mu-bi</i> ? <i>ib-ag</i> ]     | 14. ? years they ruled           |
| 15. [ <i>Uri(ki) gišku ba-an- sig</i> ] | 15. [Ur by weapons was smitten]. |

<sup>1</sup> This name is written *Má-má-gal*.... in l. 24. Which is right?<sup>2</sup> Perhaps error for 600 + 600.<sup>3</sup> PISAN + RU?<sup>4</sup> L. No. 1, IV 3 has 3600 + 180 + 12 = 3792. The length of the second reign is missing here, but it is difficult to account for the high figure in the total unless the numbers be corrected.<sup>5</sup> L. No. 1 IV 7, *Ha-ma-zi*.<sup>6</sup> L. No. 1 IV 8, *Ha-ma-zi-(ki)-a*.<sup>7</sup> Here L. No. 1 IV 10 adds *lugal-ám*.<sup>8</sup> In the total on P. No. 2 XI 22 for Hamaši the text has the figure 7 which Poebel took for 7 units but it may be 7(60) = 420.<sup>9</sup> P. No. 2 had three names here, see p. 6. *En-ug-du-an-na* is probably an error for *En-šag-kuš-an-na*, whose inscription on a vase of Nippur has been restored by POEBEL, PBS. IV 151. The other two names are probably *Lugal-ki-gub-ni-lāḡ* and *Lugal-kisal-si*, SAK. 157; *Cambridge Ancient History*, 369.



16. [nam-lugal-bi Adab-(ki)-šú-ba-gín]
17. [Adab-(ki)-a Lugal-an-ni-mu-un-dū]
18. [lugal-ám mu 90 ni-ag]
19. [1] lugal
20. [mu-bi 90] ib-ag
21. [Adab-(ki)] <sup>gis</sup>ku ka-an- sig
22. [nam-lugal-bi] Ma-er-(ki)-šú ba-gín
23. [Ma-er-ki]-šú<sup>3</sup> An-sir<sup>4</sup>
24. [lugal-ám] mu 30 ni-ag
25. [Lugal-tar]-zi dumu An-sir-ge
26. [mu- 25 (?)<sup>5</sup>] ni-ag
27. . . . . lugal mu 30 ni-ag
28. . . . . lù-gal mu 20 ni-ag
29. . . . . bi-im mu 30 ni-ag
30. . . . . -bi mu 9 ni-ag
31. 6 lugal
32. [mu-bi] 120 + 16 ni-ag
33. [Ma-er-(ki) <sup>gis</sup>ku] ba-an sig
34. [nam-lugal-] bi
35. [Kiš-(ki)-šú] ba-gín
36. [Kiš-(ki) Kug-<sup>d</sup>Bau]
37. [munuz-galu-kaš-tin-na]
38. [suġuš Kiš-(ki)] mu-un-gi-na
39. [lugal-]ám mu 100 ni-ag
40. 1 lugal
41. mu-bi 100 ni-ag
42. Kiš-ki <sup>gis</sup>ku ba-an sig
43. nam-lugal-bi<sup>6</sup> Akšak-(ki) ba-gub
44. Akšak-šú Un-zi
45. lugal-ám mu 30 ni-ag
46. Un-da-lu-lu mu 6<sup>7</sup> ni-ag
47. Ur-ur mu 6 ni-ag

16. [The rulership passed to Adab]<sup>1</sup>
17. [At Adab Lugalannimundu]
18. [became king. 90 years he reigned.]
19. 1 king<sup>2</sup>
20. [90 years he reigned]
21. Adab with weapons was smitten.
22. The rulership passed to Maer.
23. At Maer Ansir
24. became king. He reigned 30 years.
25. [Lugaltar]-zi, son of Ansir,
26. reigned . . . . . years.
27. . . . . -lugal reigned 30 years.
28. . . . . -lù-gal reigned 20 years.
29. . . . . -bim reigned 30 years.
30. . . . . -bi reigned 9 years.
31. 6 kings
32. They ruled 136 years.
33. Maer with weapons was smitten.
34. The rulership
35. passed to Kish
36. At Kish Kug-<sup>d</sup>Bau
37. a female wine seller
38. established the foundation of Kish and
39. became king. She reigned 100 years.
40. 1 king.
41. She reigned 100 years.
42. Kish with weapons was smitten.
43. The rulership at Akšak was established.
44. At Akšak Unzi
45. became king. He reigned 30 years.
46. Undalulu reigned 6 years.
47. Ur-ur reigned 6 years.

## COL. VI.

1. [Gimil-<sup>d</sup>Šahan mu 20 ni-ag]
2. [I-šu-il mu 24 ni-ag]

1. Gimil-<sup>d</sup>Šahan reigned 20 years.
2. Ishu-il reigned 24 years.

<sup>1</sup> Lines 16 ff. are restored from L. No. 1 V 1 ff.<sup>2</sup> The local records of Adab mention two more kings Mebasi and Lugaldalu. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I p. 370; *AJSL* 30, 221 and *BANKS, Bismya*.<sup>3</sup> L. No. 1 V 10 Ma-er-(ki)-a. <sup>4</sup> An-bu; An-sud possible.<sup>5</sup> Restored from total in l. 32.<sup>6</sup> Here begins the SCHEIL *Dynastic Tablet*, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1911, 606 ff.; THUREAU-DANGIN, *La Chronologie des Dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, 59-60; now in the British Museum; see GADD, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, B. M. 108857, Pls. 1-2.<sup>7</sup> Scheil *Tablet*, 12 years. The number is doubled there.



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|---|---|
| <p>3. [Gimil-<sup>d</sup>Sin dumu I-šu-il-ge 7 mu<br/>ni-ag]</p> <p>4. [ 6 lugal ]</p> <p>5. [mu-bi 93 in-ag<sup>1</sup>]</p> <p>6. Akšak<sup>2</sup> gišku [ba- an- siġ]</p> <p>7. nam-lugal-bi</p> <p>8. Kiš-(ki)-šú ba- gín</p> <p>9. Kiš-(ki) Gimil-<sup>d</sup>Sin</p> <p>10. dumu Kug-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ú-ge</p> <p>11. lugal-ám mu 25 ni-ag</p> <p>12. Ur-<sup>d</sup>Ilbaba</p> <p>13. [dumu] Gimil-<sup>d</sup>Sin-ge</p> <p>14. mu 400 ni-ag</p> <p>15. [Zi-m]u-dar-ra mu 30 ni-ag</p> <p>16. U-ši-wa-tar<sup>4</sup> mu 7 ni-ag</p> <p>17. Ašdar-mu-ti mu 11 ni-ag</p> <p>18. Iš-[.....]-<sup>d</sup>Babbar mu 11 ni-ag</p> <p>19. Na-an-ni-ja-aḫ<sup>7</sup> mu 7 ni-ag</p> <p>20. 7 lugal<sup>8</sup></p> <p>21. mu-bi 491<sup>9</sup> iḫ- ag</p> <p>22. Kiš-(ki) gišku ba- an- siġ</p> <p>23. nam-lugal-bi Unug-(ki) ba-gín</p> <p>24. Unug-(ki)-ga Lugal-zag-gi-si</p> <p>25. lugal-ám mu 25 ni-ag</p> <p>26. 1 lugal</p> <p>27. mu 25 ni-ag</p> <p>28. Unug-(ki) gišku ba-an- siġ</p> <p>29. nam-lugal-bi</p> <p>30. A-ga-dé-(ki)-šú ba- gín</p> | <p>3. Gimil-Sin son of Ishu-il reigned 7 years.</p> <p>4. 6 kings.</p> <p>5. They reigned 93 years.</p> <p>6. Akšak with weapons was smitten.</p> <p>7. The rulership</p> <p>8. passed to Kish.<sup>2</sup></p> <p>9. At Kish Gimil-Sin,</p> <p>10. son of Kug-<sup>d</sup>Bau,</p> <p>11. became king. He ruled 25 years</p> <p>12. Ur-<sup>d</sup>Ilbaba</p> <p>13. son of Gimil-Sin</p> <p>14. reigned 400 years.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>15. Zimu-dar reigned 30 years.</p> <p>16. Uši-watar reigned 7 years.<sup>4</sup></p> <p>17. Ashdarmuti reigned 11 years.</p> <p>18. Ish-me(?)-<sup>d</sup>Shamash reigned 11 years.</p> <p>19. Nannijaḫ reigned 7 years.</p> <p>20. seven kings.</p> <p>21. They reigned 491 years.<sup>10</sup></p> <p>22. Kish was smitten with weapons.</p> <p>23. The rulership passed to Erech.</p> <p>24. At Erech Lugalzaggisi became king.</p> <p>25. He ruled 25 years.</p> <p>26. 1 king.</p> <p>27. He ruled 25 years.</p> <p>28. Erech was smitten with weapons.</p> <p>29. The rulership</p> <p>30. passed to Agade.</p> |
|---|---|

<sup>1</sup> S. Obv. 7 has 99 years, and the verb is correctly written in the plural *in-ag-meš*.

<sup>2</sup> Here the *Scheil Tablet* enters the earlier reign of Kug-Bau at Kish. This queen's reign is almost exactly the same length as that of the entire intervening Akšak dynasty and she cannot possibly be regarded as the mother of Gimil-Sin, unless she reigned as contemporary of the Akšak kings. Moreover the *Scheil Tablet* makes the two kingdoms of Kish continuous.

<sup>3</sup> The *Scheil Tablet* has the figure 6 which is, therefore, taken as 6(60) or 360 in the reckoning. With Kug-Bau this dynasty totals exactly 540 years instead of the figures 540 + 40 + 6 in line 18. LEGRAIN, No 1 VI also 360 + 40 (?).

<sup>4</sup> Son of Zimu-dar on the *Scheil Tablet*. Cf. P. No. 3 R. I ú-[si etc.]. <sup>5</sup> S. Obv. 14 has 6 years.

<sup>6</sup> S. Obv. 16, *I-mu*. The variant is difficult to explain. *i-mu* is probably a Sumerian verbal form, *i* prefix and *mu* = *muš*, *giš* = *šemû*; cf. *giš-tug*, *muš-tug* = *šemû*.

<sup>7</sup> S. Obv. 17, Na-ni-ja-aḫ.

<sup>8</sup> Here Var. S. has 8 kings by combining the two Kish dynasties. Obviously they belong together and the Akšak dynasty was contemporary with Kug-<sup>d</sup>Bau.

<sup>9</sup> 586 on S. Obv. 18.

<sup>10</sup> The total is correct. For the reign of Ur-Ilbaba the original had probably  $6\frac{40}{60}$  or  $6\frac{2}{3}$  which the scribe misunderstood. This yields  $97\frac{2}{3}$  years for the entire dynasty.

31. <i>A-ga-dé Šar-ru-ki-in-</i>	31. At Agade Sharrukîn-ilubani
32. <i>-i-lu-ba-ni nu-giš-šar</i>	32. a gardener,
33. <i>ka-šu-duġ Ur-<sup>d</sup>Il-ba-ba'</i>	33. a cup-bearer of Ur-Ilbaba,
34. <i>lugal A-ga-de (ki) galu A-ga-de-(ki)</i>	34. the king of Agade, who built Agade,
35. <i>mu- un- dū- a</i>	
36. <i>lugal-ám mu 56 ni- ag</i>	36. became king. He ruled 56 years. <sup>2</sup>
37. <i>Ri-mu-uš dumu Šar-ru-ki-in</i>	37. Rimush son of Sharrukîn
38. <i>mu 9 ni-ag</i>	38. reigned 9 years. <sup>3</sup>
39. <i>Ma-ni-iš-ti-iš-šu</i>	39. Maništiššu
40. <i>šeš-gal Ri-mu-šu-uš'</i>	40. elder brother of Rimuššu <sup>5</sup>
41. <i>dumu Šar-ru-ki-in</i>	41. son of Sharrukîn
42. <i>mu 15 ni- ag</i>	42. reigned 15 years. <sup>6</sup>
43. <i>Na-ra-am-[<sup>d</sup>En-zu]</i>	43. Narâm-Sin
44. <i>dumu Ma-[ni-iš-ti-iš-šu]</i>	44. son of Maništiššu <sup>7</sup>
45. <i>mu [38 (?) ni- ag]</i>	45. reigned 38 (?) years <sup>8</sup>
46. <i>Ša[r-ga-li-šar-rí ]<sup>9</sup></i>	46. Shargališarri
47. <i>[dumu Na-ra-am-<sup>d</sup>En-zu]</i>	47. son of Narâm-Sin
48. <i>[mu 24<sup>10</sup> (?) ni- ag]</i>	48. reigned 24 (?) years.

## COL. VII.

1. <i>[a-ba-ám lugal] a-ba-ám nu lugal<sup>11</sup></i>	1. Who was king? Who was not king?
2. <i>[I-gi-]<sup>12</sup> gí lugal</i>	2. Igigi, king,
3. <i>[I-mi]<sup>13</sup> lugal</i>	3. Imi, king,
4. <i>[Na-ni]<sup>14</sup> lugal</i>	4. Nani, king,
5. <i>[E-lu-lu]<sup>15</sup> lugal</i>	5. Elulu, king,
6. <i>4 lugal<sup>15</sup></i>	6. 4 kings.

<sup>1</sup> Here begins LEGRAIN, No. 1 VII.<sup>2</sup> L. No. 1 VII 6, has 55.<sup>3</sup> L. No. 1 VII, 15 years.<sup>4</sup> Sic! Error for *Ri-mu-uš-šu*. For the name in line 39, L. No. 1 has *Ma-ni-iš-te-šu*. Other readings are *Manišduzzu*, *Manišdussu*, and the ordinary reading in his inscriptions is *Maništusū*; v. SCHEIL, *Dél. Per.* III 42; HOSCHANDER, ZA. 20, 246. SCHEIL derived the name from *man-išdu-šu*, and HOSCHANDER from *man-išdud-su*, "Who has drawn him from the womb". Both views are not convincing. Cf. UNGNAD, MVAG. 1915, No. 2, 66.<sup>5</sup> Hence Maništusū was also the son of Sargon and the "Cruciform Monument" belongs to him. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, p. 410.<sup>6</sup> L. No. 1 VII 11 has the figure 7 here. See the photograph, Pl. II.<sup>7</sup> Babylonian tradition, which asserted Narâm-Sin to have been the son of Sargon, is therefore erroneous. For this tradition, see my *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, 226, 64; KING, *Chronicles*, II 9, Rev. 1. The Nippur Text, L. No. 1 VII 13, agrees with W-B. 444.<sup>8</sup> L. No. 1 VII 14 has 56 years and P. No. 3, 1 must have had the same number.<sup>9</sup> Here P. No. 3, Rev. II 2, and S. Rev. I. Restorations from L. No. 1 VII 15.<sup>10</sup> So clearly L. No. 1 VII 17. POEBEL, No. 3, R. II 4, has 24.<sup>11</sup> So also S. Rev. 2. But P. No. 3 Rev. II 7 has Semitic, *ma-nu-um šarru ma-nu-um la šarru*; also L. No. 1 VII 18 f.<sup>12</sup> P. No. 3 R. II 9; S. Rev. 3, *i-gi-gi*; L. No. 1 VII 20, *i-ki-ki*, photograph *ir-ki-ki* an error of the scribe.<sup>13</sup> P. No. 3, Rev. II 10-11. S. Rev. 4 and L. No. 1 VII 21, *na-nu-um*.<sup>14</sup> S. Rev. 4 and L. No. 1 VII 22, *i-tu-lu*.<sup>15</sup> For lines 6, 7, P. No. 3 Rev. 13 and S. Rev. 5 have *4-bi 3 mu iḅ(in)-ag*.



7. [mu 3 ] ib- ag
8. [Du-du] mu 21 ni-ag
9. [Gimil-dur-ūl] dumu Du-du-ge
10. [mu] 15 ni- ag
11. 11<sup>2</sup> lugal
12. mu-bi 180 + 1 ib- ag
13. A-ga-de-(ki) <sup>g</sup>is<sup>ku</sup> ba-an- sig
14. nam-lugal-bi Unug-(ki)-šú bagín
15. Unug-(ki) Ur-nigin lugal-ám
16. mu 7 ni- ag
17. Ur-gigir dumu Ur-nigin-ge
18. mu 6 ni- ag
19. Kudda<sup>4</sup> mu 6 ni- ag
20. Gimil-ili mu 5 ni- ag
21. Ur-<sup>d</sup>Babbar mu 6 ni- ag
22. 5 lugal
23. mu-bi 30 ib- ag
24. Unug-(ki) <sup>g</sup>is<sup>ku</sup> ka- an- sig
25. nam-lugal-bi
26. ugnim Gu-tu-um<sup>6</sup> ba-gín
27. ugnim Gu-tu-um-(ki)
28. lugal-mu nu-tuk<sup>7</sup>
29. Im-ta<sup>8</sup>-a lugal-ám mu 3<sup>9</sup> ni-ag
30. In-ki<sup>10</sup>-šù mu 6 ni-ag
31. Ni-kiš-la-gab<sup>12</sup> mu 6 ni-ag
32. Šul-me-e mu 6 ni-ag
33. E-lu-lu-meš mu 6 ni-ag
34. I-ni-ma-ba-ki-eš mu 5 ni-ag
35. I-gi-eš-a-uš mu 6 ni-ag

7. Three years they reigned.
8. Dudu reigned 21 years.
9. Gimil-durul<sup>1</sup> son of Dudu
10. reigned 15 years
11. 11 kings
12. They reigned 181 years<sup>3</sup>
13. Agade was smitten with weapons.
14. The rulership passed to Erech.
15. At Erech Ur-nigin became king.
16. He reigned 7 years.
17. Ur-gigir son of Urnigin
18. ruled 6 years.
19. Kudda reigned 6 years.
20. Gimil-ili reigned 5 years.
21. Ur-Babbar reigned 6 years.
22. 5 kings.
23. They reigned 30 years.<sup>5</sup>
24. Erech was smitten with weapons.
25. The rulership
26. to the Gutean hordes passed.
27. The hordes of Gutûm
28. had not a king by name.
29. Imtâ became king. He ruled 3 years.
30. Inkišu reigned 6 years.<sup>11</sup>
31. Nikillagab reigned 6 years.
32. Šulmê reigned 6 years.
33. Elulumeš reigned 6 years.
34. Inimabakêš reigned 5 years.
35. Igêšauš reigned 6 years.

<sup>1</sup> For inscriptions of Dudu and Gimil-Durul, v. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Chronologie*, 63 and GADD, *Early Dynasties*, Pl. 3. For the probable reading of KIB as *ul*, v. SCHEIL, RA. 18, 98-9. Cf. KIB in *zu-KIB* = *muaddi kirbiti*, K. 4406 Rev. I 15, in KING, *Creat.*; Vol. II Pl. 55 = Bk. VII 67. See note on this line in my *Babyl. Epic of Creation*.

<sup>2</sup> S. Rev. 8 has 12 kings, which includes the period of anarchy in line 1 above.

<sup>3</sup> P. 2 Rev. III 2 and S. Rev. 8 have 197 years. The figures on these variants actually yield 197; 55 + 15 + 7 + 56 + 25 + 3 + 21 + 15 = 197. Since the total here is only 181 and only the figures for Narâm-Sin and Šargališarri are missing (beside the length of the period of the four kings Igigi to Eluln) it is obvious that one or both must be reduced. Assuming 24 for Šargališarri we are bound to assume 38 for Narâm-Sin.

<sup>4</sup> A vase recently found at Warka (?) mentions Kudda as a *šangu* priest of Innini and Babbar, and is dedicated to Ningal of Ur. Possibly filched from the excavations at Ur.

<sup>5</sup> S. Rev. 11-16 has the figures 3 + 6 + 6 + 5 + 6 and the total 26.

<sup>6</sup> S. Rev. 18, Gu-ti-um-(ki)-šù.

<sup>7</sup> L. No. 1 VIII 2, *lugal mu-ub-tuk*, had not a king.

<sup>8</sup> L. No. 1 VIII 3, Im-bi-a. Which is right. The signs are so similar that a scribal error has occurred.

<sup>9</sup> L. No. 1 R. VIII 3 has 5 years.

<sup>10</sup> Var. *gi*.

<sup>11</sup> Var. L. No. 1 VIII 5 has 7 years.

<sup>12</sup> Here perhaps L. No. 1 VIII 19 . . . . . *an-gab*.



36. <i>Ia-ar-la-gab</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>mu</i> 15 <i>ni-ag</i>	36. Jarlagab reigned 15 years.
37. <i>I-ba-te</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>mu</i> 3 <i>ni-ag</i>	37. Ibate reigned 3 years.
38. <i>Ia-ar-la</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>mu</i> 3 <i>ni-ag</i>	38. Jarla(gaš) reigned 3 years.
39. <i>Ku-ru-um</i> <i>mu</i> 1 <i>ni-ag</i>	39. Kurum reigned 1 year.
40. .... <i>ne-di-in</i> <i>mu</i> 3 <i>ni-ag</i>	40. .... nedin reigned 3 years.
41. .... <i>ra-bu-um</i> <i>mu</i> 2 <i>ni-ag</i>	41. .... rabum reigned 2 years.
42. <i>I-ra-ru-um</i> <i>mu</i> 2 <i>ni-ag</i>	42. Irarum reigned 2 years.
43. <i>Ib-ra-nu-um</i> <i>mu</i> 1 <i>ni-ag</i>	43. Ibranum reigned 1 year.
44. <i>Ha-ab-lum</i> <i>mu</i> 2 <i>ni-ag</i>	44. Hablum reigned 2 years.
45. <i>Gimil</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>En-zu dumu</i> <i>Ha-ab-lum</i>	45. Gimil-Sin, son of Hablum,
46. <i>mu</i> 7 <i>ni-ag</i>	46. reigned 7 years.
47. [ <i>Ia</i> ]- <i>ar-la-ga-an-da</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>mu</i> 7 <i>ni-ag</i>	47. Jarlaganda reigned 7 years.
48. .... <i>mu</i> 7 <i>ni-ag</i>	48. . . . . reigned 7 years.
49. [ <i>Ti-ri</i> ]- <i>ga</i> <sup>6</sup> <i>ud</i> 40 <i>ni-ag</i>	49. Tiriga reigned 40 days. <sup>6</sup>
50. 21 <i>lugal</i>	50. 21 kings
51. [ <i>mu-bi</i> 125] <i>ud</i> 40 <i>ib-ag</i>	51. They reigned [125 years] and 40 days.

## COL. VIII.

1. <i>ugnim</i> [ <i>Gu-tu-um-ki</i> <sup>gisk</sup> <i>ku ba-an-sig</i> ]	1. The hordes of Gutûm were smitten by the sword.
2. <i>nam-lugal-bi</i> <i>Unug-(ki)-šú</i> [ <i>ba-gín</i> ]	2. The rulership passed to Erech.
3. <i>Unug-(ki)-ga</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Utu-še-gál</i> [ <i>lugal-ám</i> ]	3. At Erech Utušeḡal became king.
4. <i>mu</i> 7 <i>šu-ši</i> <sup>7</sup> 7 <i>ud</i> [ <i>ni-ag</i> ]	4. He reigned 7 1/6 years and 7 days.
5. 1 <i>lugal</i>	5. One king.
6. <i>mu-bi</i> 7 <i>šu-ši</i> 7 <i>ud</i> [ <i>ni-ag</i> ]	6. He reigned 7 1/6 years and 7 days.
7. <i>Unug-(ki)</i> <sup>gisk</sup> <i>ku ba-an sig</i>	7. Erech was smitten by the sword.
8. <i>nam-lugal-bi</i> <i>Uri[-(ki)-ma-šú</i> <i>ba-gín</i> ]	8. The rulership passed to Ur.
9. <i>Uri-(ki)-ma</i> <i>Ur</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nammu</i> <sup>8</sup> <i>lugal</i>	9. At Ur Ur <sup>d</sup> Nammu was king.
10. <i>mu</i> 18 <i>ni-ag</i>	10. He ruled 18 years. <sup>9</sup>
11. <sup>d</sup> <i>Dungi dumu</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Ur</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nammu-ge</i>	11. The divine Dungi son of the divine Ur-Nammu,

<sup>1</sup> L. No. 1 VIII 6 has *Warlagaba* and makes him the *third* king and 6 years.<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. No. 1 VIII 17, ..... *ti*.<sup>3</sup> Probably *Jarlagas*, fourth king in L. No. 1 VIII, and *Arlagan*, CLAY, *Miscel.* No. 13.<sup>4</sup> Here L. No. 1 VIII 15, ..... *da*.<sup>5</sup> In the list only 20 names appear. The period when the Guteans had no king by name is counted as 1 king. The total is taken from P. No. 2 Rev. III 7, but is naturally uncertain. The actual total is only 86 years. L. No. 1 IX 3 has 124 years and 40 days. A name ending in *ga*, L. No. 1 VIII 21, does not appear on W-B. 444.<sup>6</sup> In the inscription, RA. 9, 120, *Ti-ri-ga-an*. L. No. 1 IX 1 has also 40 days.<sup>7</sup> For *šuš* employed indifferently for 60 and 1/6, v. *Sum. Grammar*, § 173.<sup>8</sup> For this reading, v. GADD, JRAS. 1922, 390.<sup>9</sup> Here begins P. No. 5, Reverse.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 12. mu 46 ni- ag  | 12. reigned 46 years. <sup>1</sup>                                      |
| 13. <sup>d</sup> Bur- <sup>d</sup> Sin dumu <sup>d</sup> Dun-gi-ge              | 13. The divine Bur- <sup>d</sup> Sin, son of the divine Dungi,          |
| 14. mu 9 ni- ag   | 14. reigned 9 years.  |
| 15. Gimil- <sup>d</sup> Sin dumu <sup>d</sup> Bur- <sup>d</sup> Sin             | 15. Gimil- <sup>d</sup> Sin, son of the divine Bur- <sup>d</sup> Sin,   |
| 16. mu 9 ni- ag   | 16. reigned 9 years. <sup>2</sup>                                       |
| 17. I-be- <sup>d</sup> Sin dumu Gimil- <sup>d</sup> Sina-ge                     | 17. Ibe- <sup>d</sup> Sin, son of Gimil- <sup>d</sup> Sin,              |
| 18. mu 24 (26) ni-ag  | 18. reigned 24 years. <sup>3</sup>                                      |
| 19. 5 (4) lugal   | 19. 5 (4) kings. <sup>4</sup>   |
| 20. mu-bi 108 ib- ag  | 20. They ruled 108 years. <sup>5</sup>                                  |
| 21. Uri-(ki)-ma <sup>is</sup> ku ba-an-sig                                      | 21. Ur was smitten by weapons.  |
| 22. nam-lugal-bi I-si-in-(ki)-šú ba-gín   | 22. The kingship passed to Isin.  |
| 23. I-si-in-(ki)-na Iš-bi- Gir*-ra <sup>6</sup> lugal                           | 23. At Isin Ishbi-Girra was king.                                       |
| 24. mu 33 ni-ag   | 24. He reigned 33 years. <sup>7</sup>                                   |
| 25. <sup>d</sup> Gimil-ì-lí-šu <sup>8</sup> dumu Iš-bi-Gir*-ra-ge               | 25. The divine Gimil-ilishu, son of Ishbi-Girra,                        |
| 26. mu 20 (10) ni-ag  | 26. reigned 10 (20) years. <sup>9</sup>                                 |
| 27. I-din- <sup>d</sup> Da-gan dumu Gimil-ì-lí-šu                               | 27. Idin- <sup>d</sup> Dagan, son of Gimil-ilishu,                      |
| 28. mu 21 ni- ag  | 28. reigned 21 years.   |
| 29. Iš-me- <sup>d</sup> Da-gan [dumu I-din- <sup>d</sup> Da-gan]                | 29. Ishme- <sup>d</sup> Dagan, son of Idin- <sup>d</sup> Dagan,         |
| 30. mu [20 ni- ag]  | 30. reigned 20 years. <sup>10</sup>                                     |
| 31. <sup>d</sup> Li-[bi-it-Ašdar dumu Iš-me- <sup>d</sup> Da-gan] <sup>11</sup> | 31. Lipit-Ashdar, son of Ishme- <sup>d</sup> Dagan,                     |
| 32. mu [11 ni- ag]  | 32. reigned 11 years. <sup>12</sup>                                     |
| 33. <sup>d</sup> Ur- <sup>d</sup> Ninurta [mu 28 ni-] ag                        | 33. The divine Ur- <sup>d</sup> Ninurtu reigned 28 years. <sup>13</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> This number is undoubtedly correct against the number 58 in P. No. 3 R. 2. In fact 47 full dates of Dungi are known from OBL No. 125 and MIO. 622, published in transcription by GÉNOUILLAC, *Inventaire*, II p. 6; v. SAK. 229 note b. Obviously only one line in OBL No. 125, Obv. is entirely missing at the top, [mu Dun-gi lugal-ám]. The last year date, "Year when Ḫarši was destroyed", is erroneously not included in the scribes figures for this reign.

<sup>2</sup> P. No. 5 R. 4 has 7 years, but there are nine year dates known for this reign, and hence W.B. 444 is correct.

<sup>3</sup> P. No. 5 Rev. 5 has 25 years. <sup>4</sup> Sic! The text has 4!

<sup>5</sup> The actual total is 106, hence Ibi-Sin's figure is probably to be corrected to 26; or read 47 for Dungi and 25 for Ibi-Sin. The total on P. No. 5 is 117, or difference of 9 years in the length of a well known dynasty not far removed from the period of the chronologist!

<sup>6</sup> P. No. 5 R. 8, <sup>d</sup>Gir\*-ra. The same writing without *dingir* in BARTON, *Miscel.* 9, 3; this text (Ni 7772) is a duplicate of LEGRAIN, PBS. 13, No. 6 and a continuation of PBS. 13 No. 3. The three texts constitute a letter of Ibi-Sin to Gimil-Numušda, patesi of Kazallu concerning Ishbi-Girra "a man of Maer".

<sup>7</sup> P. No. 5 Rev. 8 has 32 years, but this number must be raised to 33 to obtain 225 on P. No. 5 Rev. 24.

<sup>8</sup> P. No. 5 R. omits *dingir*.

<sup>9</sup> P. No. 5 R. 9 has 10 years, which is obviously correct for the total in line 45 is 203, which should be 213 if 20 be read here.

<sup>10</sup> So P. No. 5 Rev. 11, and P. No. 2 X 5 is so rendered by POEBEL, PBS IV p. 76, although his copy and photograph have 19 (?).

<sup>11</sup> So P. No. 5 Rev. 12, but No. 2 X 7 has "son of Idin-Dagan."

<sup>12</sup> So P. No. 2 X 8 and No. 5 R. 12.

<sup>13</sup> So P. No. 5 R. 13. On P. No. 2 X 10 his father was <sup>d</sup>Adad . . . . .; hence he was not a descendant of his predecessors. <sup>d</sup>Ninurta is only partially preserved; P. No. 5 has *IB* and No. 2 X 9 preserves *NIN*. A king of this name is preserved on two contracts from Nippur (unpublished) now in Constantinople, BE. 20, p. 49 and BE. Ser. D V 38. A liturgy to Ur-Ninurta is Ni. 13979 (unpublished). The name is restored from P. No. 5 R. 14.



34.	<i>d.Bur-<sup>d</sup>S[in dumu <sup>d</sup>Ur-<sup>d</sup>Ninurta]</i>	34.	The divine Bur- <sup>d</sup> Sin, son of Ur- <sup>d</sup> Ninurta,
35.	<i>mu 21 ni-ag</i>	35.	reigned 21 years.
36.	<i><sup>d</sup>Li-bi-[it-<sup>d</sup>]En-lil<sup>1</sup></i>	36.	The divine Lipit- <sup>d</sup> Enlil,
37.	<i>dumu Bur-<sup>d</sup>Sin-ge mu 5 ni-ag</i>	37.	son of Bur- <sup>d</sup> Sin reigned 5 years.
38.	<i><sup>d</sup>Gir*-ra-i-mi-ti mu 8 ni-ag</i>	38.	Girra-imiti reigned 8 years. <sup>2</sup>
39.	<i><sup>d</sup>En-lil-ba-ni mu 24 ni-ag</i>	39.	<sup>d</sup> Enlilbani reigned 24 years. <sup>3</sup>
40.	<i><sup>d</sup>Za-am-bi-ia mu 3 ni-ag</i>	40.	The divine Zambija reigned 3 years.
41.	<i><sup>d</sup>I-te-ir-pi-ša<sup>4</sup> mu 4 ni-ag</i>	41.	The divine Iterpisha reigned 4 years.
42.	<i><sup>d</sup>Ur-du-kug-ga<sup>5</sup> mu 4 ni-ag</i>	42.	The divine Ur-dukugga reigned 4 years.
43.	<i><sup>d</sup>Sin-ma-gir mu 11 ni-ag</i>	43.	Sin-magir reigned 11 years.
44.	<i>14 lugal</i>	44.	14 kings
45.	<i>mu-bi 203 ib-ag</i>	45.	They reigned 203 years. <sup>6</sup>
	<i>kat Nu-ur-<sup>d</sup>Nin-subur</i>	46.	By the hand of Nur-Ninsubur.

<sup>1</sup> So restore P. No. 5 R 15, as the 8th king. He is otherwise unknown in documents of this period.

<sup>2</sup> P. No. 5 Rev. 16 has 7 years. KING, *Chronicles* II 12, 8, *d.Gir\*-ra-ZAG-LU*. Tablets dated in his reign from Nippur, are CHIERA, PBS. VIII, Nos. 19, 20, 103.

<sup>3</sup> P. No. 5 R. 17 has here six months for an obliterated name omitted on this prism. P. No. 5 R. 18 *d.En-lil-[ba]-ni*, and 24 years. For tablets dated in this reign, v. PBS. VIII, 8, 9, 107; *Sum. Gr.*, p. 17; RA. 14, 152; BE. 31 No. 38, obv. 10; identical with *Enlil-bani*, KING, *Chronicles*, II 12, 5.

<sup>4</sup> This rendering is proven correct by LEGRAND, PBS. 13, No. 4, *mu I-te-ir-pi-ša lugal*. HILPRECHT, BE. 20, p. 49 mentions two tablets of *d.I-te-ir-KA-ša*, dated also in the first year of his reign. The name is derived from *etir-pi-ša*, "Her word saves".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *d.[Ur]-du-kug-ga*, CHIERA, PBS. VIII, No. 10, where the date refers to *id Im-gur-<sup>d</sup>Nin-subur ? mu-ba-al*, "year when Urdugga dug the canal *Imgur-Ninsubur*"; UNGNAD, in HAMMURABI'S *Gesetz*, VI, 1782 read *Imgur-<sup>d</sup>Nin-in-si-na*. UNGNAD restored the name of this king correctly, and cf. the name *Ur-du-kug-ga* in a document dated in the reign of Enlilbani, PBS. VIII, No. 9. See my note in PBS. X 140.

<sup>6</sup> The actual total is 213, but see line 26. The prism must have been written at the end of the reign of Sinmagir for Damikili-shu the last king is omitted. Since this scribe entirely omits the short reign of 6 months after Girra-imiti, his list would have for the entire reign 15 kings and 226 years, against 225 1/2 years on P. No. 5, which proves that he reckoned this brief reign of 6 months with Girra-imiti, hence his figure is 8 for Girra-imiti, not 7 as on P. No. 5.



## TABLE OF KINGS.

NAMES		YEARS	NAMES		YEARS
KISH (1)			ERECH (1)		
1.	Gà-ur	1200	1.	Meskemgašer	325
2.	Gulla-Nidaba(ezen)-an-na...	960	2.	Enme(r)kar	420
3.			3.	Lugalbanda	1200
4.			4.	Dumuzi	100
5.	Ba-ba(?) . . . . .	.....	5.	Gilgameš	126
6.	Bu- <sup>d</sup> EN-ZU(?)	.....	6.	Ur- <sup>d</sup> Nungal	30
7.	Gallibum	960	7.	Utulkalamma	15
8.	Kalumumu	840	8.	Labašer	9
9.	Duggagib	900	9.	Ennunnadanna	8
10.	Atab	600	10.	. . . . . hede	36
11.	Atabba	840	11.	Melamanna	6
12.	Arpium	720	12.	Lugalkiaga	36
13.	Etana	1500			
14.	Baliḫ	400		Total 12 kings	2310 years
15.	Enmenunna	660			
16.	Melam-Kish	900			
17.	Barsalmunna	1200			
18.	Tupzaḫ	140			
19.	Tizkar	306			
20.	Ilkû	900			
21.	Iltasadum	1200			
22.	Enmenbaragigur	900			
23.	Agga	625			
	Total 23 kings	24510 years, 3 months, 3 days			

NAMES		YEARS	DATE	CONTEMPORARY RULERS, ETC.
AWAN			circa	
1.			3900	Period of geometrical pottery well advanced. Linear writing signs in use and probably much earlier. Early cylinder seals. Animal file <i>motif</i> in stone carving. <i>Mesilim</i> possibly belongs to Awan dynasty.
2.				
3.	Ku-ul . . . . .	36		
	Total 3 kings	356 years		
KISH (2)			circa	
1.	Lah	201 + ?	3750	
2.	Dadasig	. . . . .		

## TABLE OF KINGS.

NAMES	YEARS	DATE	CONTEMPORARY RULERS, ETC.
3. Mamagal . . . . .	360		
4. Kalbum	195		
5. Umuše	360		
6. . . . . nunna	180		
7. Ibiniš (?)	290		Enbi-Ashtar, conquered by Enšagku-
8. Lugalmu	360		šanna, is said to have been the last
Total 8 kings	3195 years		king of Kish in this period.
<hr/>			
HAMAŠI			
1. Hadaniš	360 years	circa 3560	Urzaged called king of <i>Kišk</i> , possibly belongs to <i>Hamaši</i> .
<hr/>			
ERECH (2)			
1. Enugduanna (Enšagkušanna)	420	circa 3450	Lugalkigubnilah, Lugalkisalsi,
. . . . .			at Erech.
Total 3 (?) kings			
<hr/>			
UR (2)			
1.		3357	
2.			
3.			
4. . . . . lu			
Total 4 kings	108 years		
<hr/>			
ADAB			
Lugalmundu	90	3249	Ila-Shamash king of Maer in this
(Mebasi)			period. Menes and successors in Egypt.
(Lugaldalu)			Šuruppak magistrates.
<hr/>			
MAER			
		3159	Enhegal at Lagash
1. Ansir	30		Ur-Ninâ
2. [Lugal <sup>tar</sup> ]zi	25 ?		Akurgal
3. . . . . lugal	30		Eannatum
4. [Lugal-?]lù-gal	20		} Lagash Zuzu at Akšak.
5. . . . . bi-im	30		
6. . . . . bi	9		
Total 6 kings.	136 years		Entemena
<hr/>			
KISH (3)			
Kug- <sup>d</sup> Bau (contemporary with	100	3023	Enannatum II
next dynasty).			Enetarzi
			Urukagina
			} Lagash
			Lugalzaggisi
			(son), Umma.

## TABLE OF KINGS.

NAMES		YEARS	DATE	CONTEMPORARY RULERS, ETC.
AKŠAK			3023	
1.	Unzi	30		
2.	Undalulu	6		
3.	Urur	6		
4.	Gimil- <sup>d</sup> Šaḥan	20		Contemporary with Kug-Bau and later patesis of early Lagash.
5.	Ishu-il	24		
6.	Gimil- <sup>d</sup> Sin	7		
Total six kings		93 years		
KISH (4)			2930	
1.	Gimil- <sup>d</sup> Sin	25		
2.	Ur- <sup>d</sup> Ilbaba	400		
		(read 6 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub> )		
3.	Zimudar	30		
4.	Uši-watar	7		Possibly contemporary with the Akšak dynasty
5.	Ashdar-muti	11		
6.	Ishme- <sup>d</sup> Shamash	11		
7.	Nannijaḥ	7		
Total 7 kings		491 years (97 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub> )		
ERECH (3)			2833	
Lugalzaggisi		25		
AGADE				<i>Patesis of Lagash</i>
1.	Sharrukīn-ilubani	56	2808	Engilsa
2.	Rimush	9	2752	Ur-E
3.	Manishtiššu	15	2743	Lugal-ušumgal
4.	Narām- <sup>d</sup> Sin	38 (?)	2728	Ugme
5.	Shargalisharri	24 (?)	2690	
Period of anarchy				
6.	Igigi	3	2666	
7.	Imi			
8.	Nani			
9.	Elulu			
10.	Dudu	21	2663	Ur-Bau
11.	Gimil-durul	15	2642	
Total 11 kings		181 years		
ERECH (4)				
1.	Urnigin	7	2627	



## TABLE OF KINGS.

NAMES		YEARS	DATE	CONTEMPORARY RULERS, ETC.
2.	Ur-gigir	6		<i>Patesis of Lagash</i>
3.	Kudda	6		Urgar.
4.	Gimil-ili	5		Nammaḥni.
5.	Ur- <sup>d</sup> Babbar	6		Ur-Ninsun.
Total 5 kings		30 years		
GUTIUM			2597	
1.	Imtâ	3		
2.	Inkišu	6		Gudea (2550)
3.	Nikillagab	6		
4.	Šulmê	6		
5.	Elulumeš	6		
6.	Inimabakeš	5		
7.	Igešauš	6		
8.	Jarlagab	15		
9.	Ibate	3		
10.	Jarla(gaš)	3		Ur-Ningirsu.
11.	Kurum	1		
12.	. . . . . nedin	3		
13.	. . . . . rabum	2		
14.	Irarum	2		
15.	Ibranum	1		
16.	Ḫablum	2		
17.	Gimil-Sin	7		
18.	Jarlaganda	7		
19.	. . . . .	7		
20.	Tiriga(n)	40 days.		
Total 21 (20) kings		125 years, 40 days		
ERECH (5)			2472	
Utuḫegal		7 1/6 + 7 days <sup>1</sup>		
UR (3)				
1.	Ur- <sup>d</sup> Nammu	18	2465	<i>Patesis of Lagash</i>
2.	Dungi	46 (47)	2447	Urabba
3.	Bur- <sup>d</sup> Sin	9	2401	
4.	Gimil- <sup>d</sup> Sin	9	2393	Ur-lama
5.	Ibi- <sup>d</sup> Sin	26 (24) (25)	2384	
Total 5 kings		108 years		

<sup>1</sup> Text has 420 years and seven days on the more natural rendering of the figures. That is clearly impossible and consequently *šu-ši* must be taken as an error or read *one sixth*.

## TABLE OF KINGS.

NAMES		YEARS	DATES	CONTEMPORARY RULERS, ETC.
ISIN			2357	<i>Kingdom of Ellasar.</i>
1.	Ishbi-Girra	33		Naplanum (2357)
2.	Gimil-ilishu	10	2324	Emişum (2336)
3.	Idin- <sup>d</sup> Dagan	21	2314	Samum (2308)
4.	Ishme- <sup>d</sup> Dagan	20	2293	
5.	Lipit-Ashdar	11	2273	
6.	Ur- <sup>d</sup> Ninurta	28	2262	Zabaja (2273) <i>Babylon</i>
7.	Bur- <sup>d</sup> Sin	21	2234	Gungunum (2264) Sumu-âbu (2225)
8.	Lipit- <sup>d</sup> Enlil	5	2213	Abi-sarê (2337)
9.	Girra-imiti	8	2208	Sumu-ilum (2226)
10.	<sup>d</sup> Enlil-bani	24	2200	Sumu-la-ilu (2211)
11.	Zambija	3	2176	Nur-Adad (2197)
12.	Iter-pi-sha	4	2173	
13.	Urdukgga	4	2169	
14.	<sup>d</sup> Sin-magir	11	2165	
Total 14 kings		203 years		
15.	Damî-ili-shu	23	2154	End of Isin dynasty 2131
(Fotheringham's corrected chronology 2076)				<del>Twenty-third</del> <sup>Twelfth</sup> year of Sin-muballit of Babylon.

In the foregoing table I have subjected the actual figures of the prism to severe reduction anterior to the date of the beginning of the second Kingdom of Ur, 3357, which is reached by dead reckoning, assuming that Kug-Bau was contemporary with the Akšak Kingdom, and allowing for some obvious mathematical inaccuracies. If we accept the actual figures of the prism the first king after the Flood ruled 34.685 BC. The first ruler of Erech began to reign 10.175 BC. The second Kingdom of Kish began in 7332 and Ĥamaši seized the hegemony in 4137 BC. It is impossible to give credence to these figures, at any rate before 4137 for Ĥamaši, and I have assigned dates to the period before 3357 entirely on grounds of epigraphy and archaeology. If we allow for the omission of the last two kings before the Flood by accepting the figures on W-B. 62, and add 64.800 for these two kings, the Prism, W-B. 444, places the first ruler of mankind 340.685 BC. W-B. 62 would yield 490.685 for the beginning of mankind, and Berossus's figures would be 466.685, BC. Are these figures mere tradition or is the early Sumerian civilisation to be assigned to such remote periods before 10.000 BC? Chinese and Indian tradition used the figures of Berossus for the prehistoric age of man. From a Chinese source of the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD., EDWARD CHAVANNES cites a passage which assigns 432.000 years to the age of the 13 kings of heaven and the 11 kings of earth. The Indian period *Kālī-yuga* corresponds exactly to the figures of Berossus. See ED. CHAVANNES, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. I, page 18. (The reference I owe to PROFESSOR SOOTHILL.) At any rate we now know that, by consensus of all their traditions, the Sumerians believed the Flood to have occurred about 35.000 BC., and that great kingdoms flourished long before 6000 BC. The Hindu notion is that



a great cosmic age lasted 12000 divine years, a divine year being 360 human years, which gives 4.320.000 human years. This was divided into four cycles (*yuga*), the *kṛta*, *treta*, *dvapāra* and *kālī* cycles, in the proportion, 4-3-2-1, i. e., 1.440.000 ; 1.080.000 ; 720.000 ; 360.000. The *kṛta* age consisted of unblemished righteousness, the *treta* age of  $\frac{3}{4}$  righteousness, the *dvapāra* age of  $\frac{1}{2}$  righteousness, and the *kālī-yuga* of only  $\frac{1}{4}$  righteousness. Each age began and ended in a *twilight* period containing as many hundreds of divine years as the age had thousands. Hence the *kālī-yuga*, or "age of discord" has  $36.000 + 360.000 + 36.000 = 432.000$  human years. It is difficult to understand how this can have any connection with the Sumerian system and the 432,000 years of the ante-diluvian period. Mr. F. E. PARGITER, MA. of Exeter College, has supplied me with this accurate information. He refers to the following literature. FITZ EDWARD HALL's edition of WILSON's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. I, 49-50, and HASTINGS' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, article *Purāṇas* by F. E. PARGITER.

## HISTORICAL INSCRIPTION OF SIN-IDINNAM.

This finely executed monument which has been placed at my disposal by the present owner, E. S. David, a dealer in antiquities, is one of those rare objects which represent the best scribal craft of the Sumerians. It is a hollow barrel shaped object similar to the beautiful hollow cylinder of Entemena in the private collection of the late Dr. J. B. NIES of New-York, published by the owner in his *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts*, No. 1, with photographs on plate LVII. The Entemena cylinder has the orifice at the narrower end, whereas the Sin-idinnam cylinder is open at the larger end. The Entemena cylinder has the appearance of a huge mace head which Dr. NIES compared with the mace head of Shargalisharri now in the British Museum, dedicated to Shamash at Sippar. On the oval closed end of Entemena's monument there is a curious design of concentric circles intersected by lines drawn from the circumference to the inner circle, which produces a resemblance to a net. This design does not occur on Sin-idinnam's cylinder. The objects are unique, and although Sin-idinnam belongs to the 22<sup>nd</sup> century and Entemena approximately to the 29<sup>th</sup> century, there can be no doubt but that the later object represents an unbroken style of craftsmanship. The dealer maintains that the object was found at Bismya.

Sin-idinnam, ninth king of the Ellasar dynasty, ruled 2181-2176, and in his short reign of six years he seems to have accomplished more for his kingdom than any of the Kings of Ellasar before the last two kings Arad-Sin and his more famous brother Rim-Sin. Three inscribed clay pegs and a long brick inscription of Sin-idinnam were previously known, and editions of them will be found in THUREAU-DANGIN's *Alt-sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften* 208-211. I have consequently designated this new monument as *Sin-idinnam E*, and the other monuments are cited as A, B, C, D, after the notation in SAK.

Only two of his year dates are known beside the formula for his first year which can of course be restored according to the Sumerian method of promulgating the date of the first year for any reign. A contract published in *Lettres et Contrats* No. 231 by THUREAU-DANGIN, has an oath in the name of Sin-idinnam and the date "Year when he built the great wall of



Mašgan-šabrū ». This city is supposed to have been near Adab. The contemporary kingdom of Isin whose capitol Isin is now identified with Tell Bahri 17 miles south of Nippur, lay in the vicinity of Adab, and it is difficult to understand how the kings of Ellasar could have retained a city in this region within their jurisdiction. The contemporary king at Isin was Zambija and another date of Sin-idinam is, " Year when he smote with weapons Elam and *Za-am-bi-ia* king of Isin », GRICE, *Yale Series*, V, No. 3, and Nos. 2 ; 36 (where Zambija is not mentioned). It is, therefore, probable that although the king of Isin retained his throne at this time, the rival kingdom at Ellasar under Sin-idinam actually obtained mastery of the greater part of Sumer.

Sumu-ilum the seventh king of Ellasar waged war with Kish near Babylon, and both Kish and Babylon then had independent kings. In fact it is becoming increasingly evident that Babylon remained a small local kingdom until the age of Sin-muballiṭ (predecessor of Hammurabi) in whose reign Isin finally fell to the growing power of this northern city, only to be retaken by Rim-Sin of Ellasar a few years later. In fact an unplaced date of one of these earlier Ellasar kings, probably Sumu-ilum, refers to the defeat of the army of Babylon<sup>1</sup>, and another date mentions the defeat of the army of Malgû, a land on the central Tigris<sup>2</sup>.

Before the rapid extension of the authority of Babylon by the conquests of Hammurabi who finally recaptured Isin and also subdued Ellasar, the kingdom of Ellasar clearly controlled the greater part of Sumer and Accad. It is difficult to understand the position of the seemingly powerful kingdom of Isin in the vicinity of Adab and only 70 miles distant from Ellasar. In this new inscription, the longest and most important yet recovered from the reign of Sin-idinam, he calls himself king of Sumer and Accad, a title which the kings of Isin Ishme-Dagan, Lipit-Ishtar, Ur-Ninurta and Sin-magir, also appropriate, and Sin-magir reigned later than Sin-idinam. These contemporary kings both claim to be protectors of the great southern city Ur. Nur-Immer of Ellasar " shepherd of Ur », must have exercised control of that city for his inscription was found there. And Bur-Sin, Ur-Ninurta, Lipit-Ishtar and Ishme-Dagan of Isin all claim to have possessed Ur. Enannatum, son of Ishme-Dagan, was a priest of Nannar at Ur and he built there a temple for *Gungunu* (king of Ellasar and contemporary of Lipit-Ishtar and Ur-Ninurta) who is called " king of Ur » in Enannatum's own inscription. The confusion introduced by the inscriptions of the period concerning the spheres of influence of Ellasar and Isin is inexplicable. Certainly this must have been a good-natured sort of arrangement, a kind of dual monarchy without much emphasis upon the reality of titles.

The new inscription (E) was written to commemorate the excavation of the river Tigris whereby he supplied Ellasar with water. Inscriptions A and D also mention this event. This raises another inexplicable topographical problem. The year date 33 of Hammurabi (see p. 33) says that he dug a canal which supplied Nippur, Erech, Isin, Ellasar, Ur and Eridu. This obviously refers to the Euphrates, on which Nippur, Erech, Ur and Eridu were certainly located. Sin-idinam seems to have been placed in a political situation similar to that of Entemena at Lagash. This patesi of Lagash dug a canal from the Tigris to the " River of the Prince<sup>3</sup> », i. e., to the Euphrates, which is related on the same monument that served as a pattern for the cylinder of Sin-idinam. The water supply of Lagash came originally from the

<sup>1</sup> GRICE, No. 38.

<sup>2</sup> See AJSL. 35, 227 and GRICE, No. 17.

<sup>3</sup> SAK. 40 V 9.

north by canals which tapped the Euphrates near Nippur<sup>1</sup>. But this water supply had been so frequently damaged by the rival city Umma, which lay between Lagash and the Euphrates, that Entemena resolved to rid himself forever of this menace by tapping the Tigris on the east. His new canal is probably represented by the modern *Shatt-el-Hai*. Sin-idinnam's city and province lay on the old bed of the Euphrates and from this source it had always obtained water. In his time the river had changed its main bed to a more westerly course, and Erech, Isin and Ellasar now depended upon a river reduced to a canal and easily regulated by engineering works. Possibly the northern neighbor Isin, with which Sin-idinnam is known to have waged war, interfered with the water supply of Ellasar, and the king resorted to the expedient of Entemena. But the inscription says that he dug the Tigris the broad river of Shamash and "restored it to its place". The Tigris certainly never ran anywhere near Ellasar. The words cannot possibly convey their natural meaning. Undoubtedly Ellasar could be supplied by a canal which tapped the old Entemena canal, or perhaps Entemena's canal actually reached the Euphrates at Ellasar and became the southern reach of the Tigris.

## HOLLOW BARREL SHAPED CYLINDER

IN POSSESSION OF E. S. DAVID.

## COL. I.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <sup>d</sup>Sin-i-din-na-am (2) <i>guruš-kalag-ga</i><br/> 3. <i>ú-a Uri-(ki-)ma</i> (4) <i>lugal Ilrar(ki-)ma</i><br/> 5. <i>lugal ki-en-gi-(ki) Uri</i><br/> 6. <i>lugal É-babbar é</i> <sup>d</sup>Babbar-ge<br/> 7. <i>mu-un-dū-a</i> (8) <i>giš-ġar é dingir-ri-e-ne</i><br/> (9) <i>ki-bi-šú be-ġi-a me-en</i><sup>2</sup></p> <p>10. <i>ud An-ni</i> <sup>d</sup>Enlil <sup>d</sup>Nannar <sup>d</sup>Babbar-bi<br/> 11. <i>bal dug-gar si-di</i> (12) <i>ud-bi sud-sud-è</i><br/> (13) <i>mà-ra sag-c-eš</i> X<sup>3</sup><br/> 14. <i>ma-ni-in-PA</i> + KAB + DU-cš-a</p> <p>15. <i>giš-túg (gištug) dagal-la-mu</i> (16) <i>maġ-bi-šú</i><br/> <i>gar</i> (17) <i>sag-bi-šú è-a-ta</i><br/> 18. <i>eri-ki ma-da-mu-šú</i> (19) <i>a-dug mà-mà-de</i><br/> (20) <i>a-rá-zag-sal</i><sup>5</sup></p> | <p>1. Sin-idinnam, (2) the valiant,<br/> 3. the care-taker of Ur, (4) the king of Ellasar,<br/> 5. the king of Sumer and Accad,<br/> 6-7. the king who built Ebabbar, the temple<br/> of <sup>d</sup>Babbar, (8) who the plans<sup>2</sup> of the<br/> temples of the gods (9) restored to their<br/> places, am I.</p> <p>10. When Anu, Enlil, Nannar and Babbar<br/> 11. to reduce to order the revolt of rebellion,<br/> (12) to cause days to go forth unto great<br/> length<sup>4</sup> (13) to me as a gift . . . (14) gave,<br/> (15) my understanding,</p> <p>16. which has been created in far fame<br/> 17. to cause to rise above all others,<br/> 18. for the city of my land (19) to provide<br/> sweet waters, (20) the glorious career</p> |
|--|--|

<sup>1</sup> See *Cambridge Ancient History*, I 383.<sup>2</sup> Clay peg A has *me giš-ġar* = *parši ušurat*, Nies, HRET. 22, 82.<sup>3</sup> The sign seems to be REC. 92.<sup>4</sup> Cf. CT. 16, 25, 6, *sud-sud ġa-ba-ra-è*, May he go forth far-away.<sup>5</sup> Cf. *a-rá-maġ* in Sin-idinnam, *Clay Peg B*, 15.



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|---|--|
| 21. <i>nam-ur-sag-ga-mu</i> (22) <i>ud-da egir-bi-šú</i>  | 21. of my valour (22) unto the days of hereafter   |
| 23. <i>pa-è mağ ag-dé</i>   | 23. to make illustrious splendidly,  |
| 24. <i>An-ra</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>En-lil-ra</i> (25) <i>gù-in-šág-šág</i>  | 24. unto Anu and Enlil (25) I offered prayers.   |
| 26. <i>a-ra-zu-gi-na-mu-šú</i> (27) <i>ğu-mu-ši-in-še-gi-eš-a</i> (28) <i>íd Idigna ba-al-la-a-da</i> (29) <i>ki-bi-šú gí-a-da</i>                        | 26. (When) unto my steadfast intercession they were propitious, (28) to dig the Tigris,  |
| 30. <i>ud-ti-la sú-ud-du-šú</i> (31) <i>mu-mu mà-mà-dé</i> (32) <i>inim nu-kúr-ru-bi-a</i> (33) <i>á-bi ğu-mu-da-an-ág-eš</i>                             | 29. and to restore it to its place,<br>30. to lengthen days of life, (31) to establish my name, (32) with their unchangeable word (33) they proclaimed their oracle. |
| 34. <i>ud-ba dúg-ga dúg-ga</i> (35) <i>An</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Innini-ta</i> (36) <i>še-ga</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Enlil</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-lil-la-ta</i> | 34. Then by the commands of Anu and Innini, (36) by the grace of Enlil and Ninlil,   |

## COL. II.

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|--|---|
| 1. <sup>d</sup> <i>Immer dingir-mu</i> [ <i>še-ga-ni</i> ?]  | 1. Ramman my god ( <i>who</i> was propitious)   |
| 2. <i>á-mağ-mà-ta</i> (3) <i>á-kalag-mağ</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>En-ki</i> <sup>d</sup> [. . .] <i>ta</i> (4) <i>íd Idigna</i>   | 2. by my great strength, (3) by the great power of Enki and . . . , (4) the Tigris,   |
| 5. <i>íd gál-la</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>Babbar-ge</i> (6) <i>ù-ma-mu-ta</i>  | 5. the broad river of Shamash (6) in my victorious force (7) grandly caused me to excavate. (8) On the abyss the ancient reservoir <sup>3</sup> . . . for its mouth I made fit,                           |
| 7. <i>gal-bi ęe-im-mi-ba-al</i> (8) <i>ki-sur-ra</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>in-dub-ur-?</i> (9) <i>ka-bi um-mi-túm</i>  | 10. and grandly I planned it for the pools <sup>4</sup> .   |
| 10. <i>a-gam-ma-bi-šú</i> (11) <i>si gal ęe-im-mi-di</i>   | 12. Everlasting waters of abundance which cease not,  |
| 12. <i>a da-eri</i> (13) <i>ęe-gál suğ nu-túm-mu</i>   | 14. unto Ellasar my land I restored.  |
| 14. <i>Ilrar(ki) kalam-ma-mu-šú</i> (15) <i>ęe-im-mi-gar</i> (16) <i>ud</i> <i>íd Idigna</i> <i>íd gu-la</i>   | 16. When I dug the Tigris, the great river,   |
| 17. <i>mu-ba-al-la-a</i> (18) <i>á galu àš-e</i>   | 18. the wages of one man was ? gur of grain each ; (20) of bread two ka each ;  |
| 19. <i>še</i> ? <i>gur-ta</i> (20) <i>ninda</i> 2 <i>ka-ta</i>   | 21. of beer four ka each, (22) of fat two shekels each (23) daily. (24) Thus each received.   |
| 21. <i>kas</i> 4 <i>ka-ta</i> (22) <i>íd</i> 2 <i>gìn-ta-ám</i>  | 25. Each man less than his wage (26) each man more than is wage took not.   |
| 23. <i>ud-aš-a</i> (24) <i>ūr-gimšu-ba-an-ti</i> (25) <i>galu á-lal</i> (26) <i>galu á-tağ</i>   | 28. By the mightiness of my land, (29) I finished this task. (30) By the words of counsel of the great gods (32) the river Tigris, the broad river, (33) to its course I restored. (34) Unto eternal days |
| 27. <i>ba-ra-ne-tuk</i> (28) <i>á-kalag ma-da-mu-ta</i> (29) <i>kin-bi ęe-im-mi-tíl</i>  | 35. may my name endure.   |
| 30. <i>inim ka-áš-bar</i> (31) <i>dingir-gal-e-ne-ta</i> (32) <i>íd Idigna</i> <i>íd dagal-la</i> (33) <i>ki-bi-šú ęe-im-mi-gi</i> (34) <i>ud-ul-du-eri</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>šú</i> |   |
| 35. <i>mu-mu ęe-im-mi-gín</i>  |   |

<sup>1</sup> Sic ! But *Clay Peg. A*, 13. *íd-dagalla*, hence *gál* is either an error by omission for *da-gál*, or *gál* has also the meaning *rapšú*.

<sup>2</sup> For *kisurra* = *kisurrá*, Syn. *bérāti*, v. SBP. 64, 14 and cf. (*sur*) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 = *birātu*, Syn. *kibiru*, grave, V R. 31, 25, and 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 (*su-ur*) = *birātu*, spring. See also Gudea, Cyl. A, 10, 20.

<sup>3</sup> *indub-ur* was restored to its place by Sin-idinnam, SAK. 210 d) 6. It is certainly the same word as *im-dub-ba*, SAK. 38 IV 4, where it is associated with *e kisurra*, « the boundary canal ». <sup>d</sup> *Ninā* is *nin-in-dub-ba* mistress of reservoirs (?), SAK. 142 v) 3 ; 74 VIII 52 ; 190 h) 3. <sup>4</sup> *agam* = *agammu*.

<sup>5</sup> The sign is REC. 386 ; *du-eri* seems to be a variant of *da-eri*. But note *ud-ul-dū-a*, Br. 7939, and *ud-ul-l-a-aš*, Sin-idinnam, *Clay Peg* II 5, possibly error of 𐎶𐎵 for 𐎶𐎵.



## ANNALS OF THE REIGN OF HAMMURABI

W-B (1923), 373.

This fragment forms the upper half of a large tablet  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide and originally about 12 inches long. It contained according to the colophon 18 year dates of Hammurabi, most of which are more detailed and contain much more historical information than the ordinary formulae employed in dating documents. Most curiously the dates do not follow each other in chronological order as they are recorded in the other lists. The authoritative lists, SCHEIL, *La Chronologie Rectifiée du Règne de Hammurabi*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XXXIX 111-122; KING, LIH. No. 101 (= CT. VI 10), Col. III 1-43; BOISSIER, RA. XI 161-164; KING, *Chronicles*, II 98-102; all agree in assigning 43 years to this reign. The dynastic list B, WINCKLER, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* 145 has 55 years for this reign and the figures for the other reigns disagree with the contemporary date lists, so as to render that tablet of little value for exact chronology.

W-B. 373 begins with the date formula of the 30<sup>th</sup> year, mentioning events which actually occurred in the 29<sup>th</sup> year of his reign. The date for the 31<sup>st</sup> year then follows, but there is here a long gap with space for at least two sections and the beginning of the section for the 32<sup>nd</sup> year which ends on Col. II (1-6). Obviously Col. I after the second section contained at least two year dates between the years 31-32! Reverse I carries the dates for years 36-37-39; the date for the 38<sup>th</sup> year is omitted! It is, therefore, wholly impossible to restore the lacunae. The last date on the tablet is the year 43, and consequently the entire document probably contained a selection of the annals of Hammurabi, arranged in groups, by which method military campaigns in certain areas were brought together. Note that the events mentioned in the formulae for the 37<sup>th</sup> and 39<sup>th</sup> years both concern military operations against the lands on the upper Tigris, which accounts for the order here.

The colophon states that the tablet contained 18 years of the reign of Hammurabi. But the period from year 30 to year 43 contains only 14 dates, and consequently the tablet included annals before the year 30. The text even in its fragmentary condition is a new and valuable addition to the records of this illustrious ruler. The scribe has attempted to write annals in a real historical method and he composed his material in the spirit of a thoughtful historian.

The obverse of the tablet is badly weather worn and the decipherment difficult.

## YEAR DATE 30.

1) *mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e* 2) *á-gál kenag* <sup>a</sup>*Marduk-gc* 3) *á-kalag-maš dingir-gal-gal-c-ne*  
4) *ugnim Nim-(ki)-ma* 5) *zag Mar-ḫa-ši-(ki)-ta* 6) *Su-bīr-(ki) Gu-ti-um-(ki)* 7) *Éš-nun-na-(ki)*  
8) *Mā-al-gi-(ki)* 8) *nam-dugud-bi i-im-zi-zi-eš-am* 9) *kar-dār-a-bi i-in-gar-ra-a* 10) *suḡuš ki-en-gi(ki)*  
*Uri i-ni-in-gi-bi.*

" Year when Hammurabi, the wise, the beloved of Marduk, the far famed might of the great gods, the troops of Elam, beginning with the borders of Marḫaši, Subartu, Gutium, Ešnunak, and Malgû, who calamitously had come up, — their defeat accomplished ".

Notes : For *kar-dar* (l. 9), see SAK. 38 III 32; 56, 23; I Raw. 5, No. 20, 11.

## YEAR DATE 31.

1) *mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e* 2) *Igi-DUP-ti An <sup>d</sup>En-lil-ta* 3) [*igi-erin*]-*bi ni-gin-na-am*  
 4) [*á-kalag*]-*gír* (?) *dingir-gal-gal-e-ne* 5) [*mu-un*]-*na-an-sum-mà-ám* 6) [*ma-da*] *Ia-mu-ut-ba-a-*  
*lum-(ki)* 7) [*ù lugal*]-*e Ri-im-<sup>d</sup>Sin* 8) [*šu-ni*] *sá-be-dug-ga* 9) . . . . . *bi-šú zi* . . . . .  
*ba-ed* 10) . . . . . *Ki-en-gi-(ki) Uri* 11) [*dug-ga-ni*] *be-in-dib-e*.


\* Year when Hammurabi, the king, by the help of Anu and Enlil, who go before his troops, and to whom heroic strength by the great gods was given, Jamutbal and the king Rim-Sin by his hand conquered; . . . . . he caused to be set up; and the . . . . . of Sumer and Accad he caused to accept his commands ».

Notes : For variants see POEBEL, BE. VI 63; BOISSIER, RA. XI 162; SCHEIL, RT. 34, 117; CHIERA, PBS. VIII 81, date; 125 date. The verb *dug-ga-dib* is restored from PBS. VIII 81, and the reading is important for it proves that *ka-dib* was an erroneous rendering. Cf. *dug-mu-un-dib-ba* = *amātam ušahhaz*, IV R. 18 a 38. See SAK. 40 V 30; PSBA. 1918, 49, 40 and *dug-dib-ba* = *pirištu*, RA. XI 148, 21. Here belongs the official <sup>amelu</sup> *dug-dib* (*mušahhiz amāti*), RA. XVI 125, II 23; KING, *Boundary Stones*, 105, 21; 126, 19; cf. CT. 24, 31, 94; PBS. II 51, 5 etc. In l. 9, *ba-ed* probably refers to the erection of a stele, possibly the law code. Cf. year date *d*) of Abi-ešuh. Line 4 is restored from year date 23 of Samsuiluna.

## YEAR DATE 32.

1) [*mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e*] 2) *ur-sag ù-ma-di ili <sup>d</sup>Marduk* <sup>1</sup> (Col. II) 1) *giš-ku-kalag-ga ugnim* 2) *Éš-nun-na-(ki) Su-bir-(ki) Gu-ti-um-(ki)* 3) *mê-ta šu-be-ib-šub-bi* 4) *Ma-al-ki-(malgû)-(ki) ù gú* <sup>id</sup>*Idiglat* 5) *en-na ma-da Su-bir-(ki)-šú* 6) *šu-ni sá-be-dug-ga*.

\* Year when H. the king, the heroic, bearer of the glory of Marduk overthrew in battle with a mighty weapon the host of Ešnunak, Subartu and Gutium; Malgu and the banks of the Tigris as far as Subartu his hand conquered ».

Notes : *Malgû* in line 4 is written *MA-AN-KI-?* (*KI*). The same form occurs in CLAY, *Miscel.* 33, 3, but the sign after *KI* is uncertain in both texts. In CT. 12, 32, a 21 the sign  is a variant of *Ma-al-gi-a-(ki)* = *Malgû* and in *Voc. Scheil*, R (*mur-gu*) = *ma-al-[gu-u]*, l. 74. It is probable then that the sign is *MURGU* and that the form of writing this name is a kind of doublet. *AN* has apparently the value *al* here and *Malki* is a gloss on *MURGU*. *AN* with value *al* probably occurs in SCHROEDER, KAV. 46 I 7. *AN-MAL*, title of the god *ZA-MAL-MAL*, with gloss *al-ba*. The values *il*, *al* for *AN* are probably Semitic from *ilu*, *alu*, god, and in this case the determinative is pronounced (as Semitic). For the occasional pronunciation of determinatives, see *Sumerian Grammar* § 66, and for determinative *mulu* star, always pronounced, see UNGNAD, ZDMG. 74, 209 and the loan-word *gišparu*, net, trap from *gišpâr*. It is certain, however, that the determinative for "god", Sum. *dingir*, Semitic *ilu*, (West Semitic *alā*) was not generally pronounced. See the transcriptions of the names of gods in Aramaic dockets, DELAPORTE, *Épigraphes Araméens*, p. 19, *et passim*; in Aramaic Papyri the divine names are transcribed without the determinative, COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century*, *passim*; note especially p. 215, 92, the god *Shamash* with no determinative. See also G. A. COOKE, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 186, inscription of Nêrab (6<sup>th</sup> century),

<sup>1</sup> Restored from W.B. 1923, 311, a contract. For *Malgû*, Var. 311 has *MA-AN-KI*.



with the names of several Assyrian gods transcribed without determinative, *Sahar*, *Šamaš*, *Ningal* (Nikal), *Nusku*. Although *al-ba*, *il-ba* in the Assur vocabulary undoubtedly indicate a Semitic rendering of *dingir-MAL*(ba) as *Alba*, *Ilba*, there is no doubt but that the gloss *il-ba-ba* on the name <sup>a</sup>*ZA-MAL-MAL*, KAV. 46 I 9, really shews that *ZA* has the value *il* here. WEIDNER has collated this tablet and finds that the gloss in line 6 is *ZA-ba-bu* which in the light of the gloss in l. 9 is to be read *il-ba-bu*. Note also POEBEL, PBS. V 129, 2, *AN* glossed *ZA* and *i-lum*. Therefore *ZA* has the value *il* or *ilu*, *ila* and the determinative in <sup>a</sup>*Ilbaba* was not read. This confirms my reading of the Sumerian for Ellasar, *il-ra-ar* or *ila-ra-ar*, JRAS. 1920, 515. The value *il* for *ZA* is Sumerian.

The date formula for the 32<sup>nd</sup> year of Hammurabi is usually abbreviated to *mu ugnim Éš-nun-na-(ki)*, see POEBEL, BE. VI 63; BOISSIER, RA. XI 162; SCHEIL, *ibid.* 7; SCHÖRR, VAB. V 592. But *mu ma-da Malgû(ki)*, RANKE, BE. VI 37, 26, is clearly the same year. *Malgû* on the evidence of this text lay on the Tigris and its constant association with Elam, Gutium, Ešnunak, proves that it must have been somewhere in the region of the Diyala river. Its previous location near Sippar was erroneous. See SCHROEDER, ZA. 31, 95. The name first appears in the Isin period, date of a king of Ellasar, AJSL. 35, 227; GRICE, *Yale Series V*, No. 17 and before the reign of Hammurabi it was an independent Semitic kingdom, and two of its kings Ibik-Ištar and Takil-ili-šu are known, SCHEIL, RT. 34, 104; VS. I 32 = ZA. 31, 92. The name is last heard of in the Cassite period, when it formed an administrative district under Melishipak, *Dél. Per.* X 87 and is there associated with the Sea Land, Col. II 20.

## YEAR 33.

1) *mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e* 2) <sup>a</sup>*Ha-am-mu-ra-bi nu-ḫu-uš ni-ši* 3) *šag-gi-rá-ám An*  
<sup>a</sup>*En-lil mu-un-ba-al* 4) *a da-er ḡe-gál-ka* 5) *Nibru(ki) Eridu(ki) Uri(ki) Ilrar(ki)-ma Unug(ki)-ga*  
*Ī-si-in-na-(ki)* 6) *mu-un-gar-ra-ám* 7) *Ki-en-ḡi(ki) Uri bir-bir-ri-a* 8) *ki-bi-šú be-in-ḡi-a* 9) *ugnim*  
*Ma-er(ki) ù Ma-[al-ḡi-a]* 10) *mê-ta be-ib-šub-bi* 11) *Ma-er(ki) ù . . . . .* 12) *ù uru-aš-*  
*aš-(ki) Su-bir-(ki)* 13) *dúg-ga-ni ku-li-bi* 14) *be-in-dib. . . . .*

"Year when Hammurabi, the king, dug the canal "Hammurabi is the abundance of the people", the loved of Anu and Enlil, and everlasting waters of plentifulness created for Nippur, Eridu, Ur, Ellasar, Erech and Isin; when he restored disturbed Sumer and Accad to their places, and in battle overthrew Maer and Malgû; when Maer and . . . . . and the cities of Subartu he caused to accept his commands in friendship . . . . .

Notes: For *šaggira* l. 3 = *bibil libbi*, v. KAR. 8, 7; GADD, *Early Dynasties*, 33, 17 = CT. 21, 19, 12. The canal here referred to is clearly the southern course of the old bed of the Euphrates which had now changed its main bed above Babylon and ran southward past Babylon reaching the sea at Eridu. The old bed cannot be the *Shatt el Khar*, which lies too far eastward of a canal which could have passed from Nippur to Eridu *via* Isin, Erech, Ellasar and Ur. The scribe here gives the northern and southern ends of the canal, "Hammurabi is the abundance of the people", and then names the great cities which it supplied, beginning from the south. Isin is now known to be *Tell Bahri*, 17 miles south of Nippur, according to the map of the War Office, Geographical Section, General Staff. Rim-Sin king of Ellasar in his 22<sup>d</sup> year, or 42 years previously, dug the Euphrates (which then supplied Nippur) from Erech to the sea and "made a river for Ur", JRAS. 1921, 582. Clearly Hammurabi's canal



is the same stream which Rim-Sin refers to. It is no longer called the Euphrates by Hammurabi. Rim-Sin seems to have found the course of the old river in process of cutting a new bed away from Ur. These statements seem to permit of but one conclusion. The old Euphrates and the new canal of Hammurabi passed from Nippur to Eridu where it reached the sea. Ur and Ellasar were fed by this stream. On the other hand the relative positions of Ur and Eridu and the topography of the land between them make it difficult to believe that both lay on the course of Euphrates. The most recent information obtainable on the topography will be found in R. C. THOMPSON's article, *The British Museum Excavations at Abu Sharhein*, *Archaeologia*, 1920. Another new sketch of this area is given by DR. H. R. HALL, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VIII 242. Eridu lies SW. of Ur, eight miles on the new map of the General Staff, but THOMPSON says that the distance is 12 miles and DR. HALL tells me that it is fourteen. DR. HALL has informed me that Eridu lies in fact SSW. of Ur and hence it is possible that the old course of the Euphrates actually passed by Ur to reach the sea at Eridu. At any rate Thompson states that the level of the plain *rises* slightly from Ur to Eridu, and his map shews a low sandstone ridge about halfway between these sites. He argues on the evidence of freshwater mussels found in different strata at Eridu, that the city stood on a lagoon (at the mouth of the Euphrates). It is clear that a river could hardly run from Ur to Eridu, but that its old bed may have reached the sea from Ellasar *via* Eridu leaving Ur several miles eastward. Ur then could have been supplied not from the main river but from a canal, or perhaps a branch, and the old mouth of the river may have formed a *delta* with Ur and Eridu at the southern corners of the *delta*.

## YEAR DATE 36.

1) *mu Ha-am-[mu-ra-bi lugal-e]* 2) *É-me-te-ur-sag [mu-un-gibil-lá]* 3) *ù É-nir-ki-dúr-[maḡ]*  
4) *ᵅIlbaba ᵅInnini-[ge]* 5) *sag-bi an-gim il-la mu-[un-dū-a]* 6) *me-lám ᵅIlbaba ᵅInnini* 7) *e-ne-bi-ta zag-zi-da* 8) *gal-bi be-in-dirig-ga*.

" Year when Hammurabi, the king, rebuilt Emeteursag and built the head of the stage-tower Kidurmaḡ, raised on high like heaven, for Ilbaba and Innini ; when to make pre-eminent the glory of Ilbaba and Innini by means of them he caused them excel in grandeur ».

## YEAR DATE 37.

1) *mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e* 2) *á-kalag-gal ᵅMarduk-ka-ta* 3) *ugnim Tu-ru-uk-ḡum*  
4) *Ka-ag-mu-um-(ki)* 5) *kur Su-bīr-(ki)-bi-ta* 6) *mē-ta be-ib-šub-ba*.

" Year when Hammurabi, the king, by the great might of Marduk overthrew in battle the armies of Turukḡu, Kagmum and Subartu ».

*Turukḡu* is written *Tu-ru-ku-um*, VS. IX 60, *Tu-ru-ḡum*, *ibid.*, 64; 68; CLAY, *Miscel.*, 33, 8; *Tu-ru-uk-ḡum*, POEBEL, BE. VI 14. It appears again in the inscription of Adad-Nirari I (14<sup>th</sup> century), IV R. 39, 16 = KB. I 4 and OLZ. 1915, 170, as *matTu-ru-ki-i* with Nigimṭi and *Ḳutī*, Gutium. A letter of the Hammurabi period refers to *amel Kakmū* and *amel Arraphūm(ki)* who were foreign invaders quartered on Babylonian gardeners. See UNGNAD, OLZ. 1915, 170. Arrapha is identified with modern Kerkuk, near Arbela south of the Lower Zab. Therefore the lands mentioned in this date refer to the region of Gutium and northern Mesopotamia. *matKa-ak-mi-e* is mentioned with the Mannai (Sargon, end of 8<sup>th</sup> century), KB. II 36, 9 and cf. 42, 28.

## YEAR DATE 39.

1) *mu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e* 2) *á kalag-kalag-ga An d. En-lil* 3) *mu-un-na-sum-ma-ám*  
 4) *kililb gú-dū-a-(ki)* 5) *kur Su-bir-bi-ta [sag giš-be-in-ra]*.

"Year when Hammurabi by the powers which Anu and Enlil gave him smote the totality of the enemies and the land Subartu".

The text omits the date of the 38<sup>th</sup> year, "year when Ašnunnak was destroyed by a flood". The date of the 39<sup>th</sup> year is restored from the colophon date of the Ellasar dynastic prism, RA. 15, 10. For *gú-dū-a*, SCHEIL, *La Chronologie Rectifiée*, has *gú-da-bi*.

## AFTER A LONG BREAK.

1) [*mu saġar UD-KIB*]-*NUN-NA-(ki)* 2) *be-in-gar-ra*.

This is clearly the last year of Hammurabi; the Semitic translation is given on the Nippur tablet, RANKE, BE. VI, No. 32, *mu epir Sippar(ki) iššapku*, "year when the earth of Sippar was heaped up". This refers to the construction of an earth wall of Sippar. See the inscription of Hammurabi, cited by POEBEL, BE. VI p. 68 n. 2.

## COLOPHON.

18 (?) years of Hammurabi the king.

## LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS.

MUSEUM NUMBER.	PLATES.	CONTENTS.
W-B. 62	6	List of ante-diluvian kings. Previously published in JRAS. 1923, opp. p. 256. See p. 2.
1923, 373	5 — 6	Upper half of a large tablet inscribed in two columns. Year dates of Hammurabi. See pp. 31-35.
1923, 444	1 — 4	Dynastic prism. A large rectangular clay prism inscribed with two columns on each side.
David Hollow Cylinder	7 — 8	Historical inscription of Sin-idinnam. Hollow cylindrically shaped object, 6 inches long and 2 inches in diameter at the ends. See pp. 27-29.















Col. V

Lines 1-10 defaced

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## COL. VII

## COL. VIII

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W-B., 1923, 373. Obverse

## COL. I

[illegible]

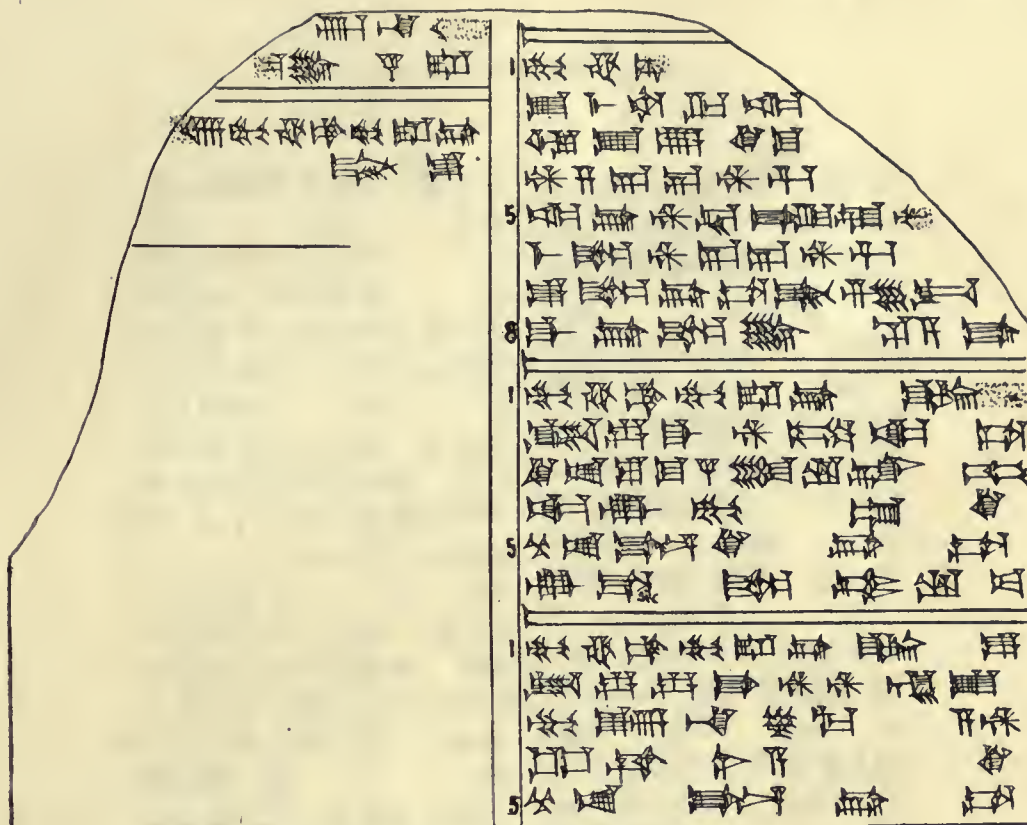
## COL. II

[illegible]





COL. I



- 1 無 國 之 民 也 故 曰 無 國 之 民 也  
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Chaldean Kings before the Flood.  
(Ashmolean Museum, W.B. 62.)





**David Hollow Barrel Cylinder.**

COL. I

COL. II

[illegible][illegible]



















PJ  
4051  
L36

Langdon, Stepehn Herbert  
Historical inscriptions

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